

SOME ANCIENT PARSI DOCUMENTS.

A Paper read before the Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Research on the 14th of November 1914.

I promised when we last met in this Hall to take the earliest opportunity of exhibiting publicly the interesting Gujarāti documents which were included in the bundle of papers I found at Navsāri in 1896. I hasten to fulfil that pledge to-night, but permit me, before I discuss them in detail, to declare, once for all, that these writings do not relate to any event of historical or national importance, and do not inform us of any great or brilliant achievements of our ancestors. They are really nothing but the family papers of some Zoroastrians of the middle class who lived in the 16th and 17th Centuries. It is fairly well known that our people were in a state of obscurity and indigence in those times, but I venture to think, that these old records enable us to realise much more clearly than anything that has been hitherto published, the sort of life that they led, the poor and mean dwellings they were content to inhabit, and the condition of indebtedness to which many, even of those who were not absolutely impecunious, were at times reduced on account of their inability to pay the taxes imposed upon them or the Revenue assessment of the lands on the cultivation of which most of them depended for their subsistence. Indeed, most of these documents tell us, what may appear almost incredible in these days, that the Parsis of those times lived, for the most part, only by agriculture and retail trade. Several of these writings, again, relate to the regulations made by the corporate priest-hoods or Anjumans in reference to religious ceremonies, and furnish authentic information as to the fees and perquisites to which their order was entitled, and the tenacity and pugnaciousness with which the members of every denomination maintained their peculiar rights and privileges even in the smallest matters.

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STUDIES
IN
PARSI HISTORY

BY

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PREFACE.

This is neither a compendious nor comprehensive History of the Parsis nor a Critical Dissertation on their origin, manners or customs. It is only a collection of Essays written with the object of throwing fresh light on some dark corners of Parsi antiquities, by offering new solutions of old difficulties or unearthing facts which have hitherto escaped discovery. It is the product of twenty-five years' industrious study of the subject and of long-continued and persistent search for new materials and sources of information in all directions. The first paper is probably the one round which controversy will gather. The writer must leave his arguments to be judged on their merits and beg to remind critics that no finality is claimed for these suggestions which are avowedly tentative, and which he will be the first to abandon as soon as more satisfactory explanations are forthcoming. The second essay is the result of a somewhat meticulous study of the Musalman chronicles of Mahmud Begada for the purposes and from the viewpoint of Parsi history. In the third, some knowledge of the results of Hindu epigraphic research has been brought to bear on the elucidation of a synchronism which has puzzled two generations of Parsi scholars. The account of Mihrvaid and the paper which follows are based entirely on contemporary documents discovered by the writer. In three other studies, the Postscripts of old Avesta-Pahlavi manuscripts have been, for the first time, laid under contribution for supplementing the meagre data for the history of the mediæval period. One of these, the disquisition on the 'Colophons of Mihrāpān' has attracted the attention of European Orientalists and has even appeared in a French garb in the *Journal Asiatique* (Sept.-Oct. 1915). In the last and longest contribution of the series, all the information that can be gleaned from the

Persian Revayets about Parsi worthies of the 16th and 17th centuries has been collected together and brought under one view. At the same time, an attempt has been made to solve, in the light of the oldest and best manuscripts of these missives, a knotty point of Iranian chronology which has been frequently canvassed by Pahlavi scholars.

It has not been possible to observe a strict uniformity in the transliteration of Oriental words and names, and the writer is also painfully aware that the book is not without its share of the typographer's ineptitudes. He can only express his regret for these and other blemishes and hope for their removal in a second edition.

S. H. Hodivālā.

Junāgadh, 17th Dec. 1920.

THE TRADITIONAL DATES OF PARSİ HISTORY.

(*A paper read before the Society for the promotion of Zoroastrian Research on 25th October, 1913.*)

I propose to devote an hour this evening to an examination of those traditional dates in the history of the Indian Parsis which, in spite of manifold contradictions and inconsistencies, are still quoted with an almost unreasoning confidence by many otherwise well-informed persons, on account of their supposed antiquity or perhaps, only for want of anything better to take their place. It must be a matter of sincere regret, all the same, to every one who desires to acquire and to diffuse a well-grounded knowledge of the history of our people in this country, that statements made on the margins and fly-leaves of comparatively recent manuscripts by persons of whose competence, sources of information and sometimes even names, we are most unblissfully ignorant, should continue to be taken upon trust and employed as arguments by scholars even in the twentieth century.

I have said that very few of these statements are authenticated and that some of them are absolutely nameless, this is not all. They exhibit the most bewildering diversity amongst themselves and, if we are to believe them, the same event (the arrival of the Parsis at Sanjan) occurred in 772, 895 and 961 Vikram Samvat, i. e. 716, 839 and 905 A.C.

There is the same conflict as to the year in which the Persian Zoroastrians must, according to these dates, have first begun to abandon their homes for religion and conscience' sake. One of them would make it out to have occurred in 582 A.C., another about 651 A.C., and a third as late as 721 A.C. (777 V. Samvat.)

A much later event, about which for that reason, if for no other, we might suppose they would be in agreement, is the subject of a similar conflict. The Atash-Behram is said to have been brought from Bansdah to Navsari, according to one of these entries, in 1472 V. Samvat, i. e. 1416 A.C., according to another in V. Samvat 1475, i. e. 1419 A.C., and not the least instructive fact about these rival dates is that both of them are demonstrably wrong, and that the Iranshah fire was taken to Navsari many years afterwards.†

† Parsi Prakash p. 5 and Nete.

The best known and most important of these traditional entries is the statement which makes Friday, Roz Bahman, Mah Tir, Shravan Shud 9, (V.S. 772) the date of the first landing of the Persian Zoroastrians on Indian shores at Sanjan. For this there has hitherto been no older authority than Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdini,—in whose pamphlet on the Kabisah Controversy of 1826—*Kadim Tarikh Parsi-ni Kasar*—it first appears. But I have found it lately on a blank page in a MS. containing the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* and other tales in Persian verse, which belongs to Ervad Maneckji Unwalla and which must be at least one hundred and fifty years old. The actual words in this Manuscript are,

સંવત ૭૭૨ વર્ષે શ્રાવણ શુદ્ધ ૯ વાર શુક્રે રોજ ૨ માહ ૪ સને ૮૫ ધ્યજ-
જ્જરદી એવે દંને શ્રી ખોરાસાનથી વેહેદીનાન શ્રી સંન્નાય મધ્યે માહારાજ્ય શ્રી
ગદિરાણનાં વખતમાં આવેઆ

The gist of Dastur Aspandiarji's narrative, which throws light on some dark places, is that the Zoroastrians in Persia were, thanks to their knowledge of the Zend Avesta and the Jamaspji, warned forty-nine years before the accession of Yazdajird of the Arab domination that was to come and that some of them *forthwith* abandoned their homes for the woods and hills of Kohistan, in which they spent a hundred years in all.

આપણો જરથોશતી શીરકો ખુરાશાનનો રેહનાર નજુમ તથા દીનમાં ઘણા કામેલ અને ખયરદાર હતા. તે લોકોને જન્મવ્યવશતા તથા જમાસપી કીતાબોથી ખયર હતી જે મહમદ પેદા થાશે તેથી આપણી પાદશાહી જાશે અને આપણો મુલક અરખોના હાથ હેઠળ વેરાન થાશે તે થકી આપણી દીન મજહૂમ રહેશે નહીં એહવું જાણીને પાદશાહ ખુસરો પરવેજના વખતમાં દીનની પોતાની આલાત અને તમામ કીતાબો લઈને પાદશાહી છતાં ખુરાશાનથી નીકલેઆ તેને આજદીન શુધી બારશો યુમાલીશ વરશ થયાં છે અને એ શીરકો સહીસલામત બાખુશીથી પહાડોમાં આવી રહેઓ તે જગો ઉપર દીનશાયે કાએમ વરશ ૧૦૦) એક સો સુધી રહ્યા અને આપણો છેલ્લો પાદશાહ તખતે બેશશે તે તે ૪૯ ઓગણપચાસ વરસ અગાઉ આપણુ લોકો ખુરાશાનથી નીકળેઆ. તાર પછે પાદશાહ ધ્યજજ્જરદના વખતમાં કખીશો પડેઓ તે છેલ્લો કખીશો આવાં મહીનાઓ આવેઓ તે કખીશો પહાડોમાં કીધો * * * હવે મુશલમાનોનો દોર મુલક માંહાં ફેલાવા લાગો તે વારે આપણુ માંહાં નજુમી લોકો હતા તે લોકોએ રમલ નાખેઓ તેથી એહવું માલમ પડેજાં જે આપણો મજહૂમ હીદોશતાન શીવાએ બીજી જગો રેહનાર નથી. તેહવારે સરવ લોકો એક દીલ થાઇ પહાડોમાંથી નીકલેઆ. (pp. 122-6).

He then tells the story of the fifteen years spent in Old Hormuz and the nineteen at Div, adding on his own authority, (whatever value we may attach to it), that it was at the latter place that they acquired a knowledge of the Indian vernacular and Sanscrit learning and that they were obliged to seek a new home because the customs of the faith could not be properly observed there on account of the rule of the Portuguese? Rule of the Portuguese at Div in the 8th century of Christ!!

તાહાં દીવમાં હીંદુશતાની જુઆન તથા શેહશકરતનો એલમ શીખેઆ પણ તાહાં શીરંગીના અમલના સમજથી દીનનો મારગ શારીપટે ચાલી નહી શખેઓ. (p. 126).

The novelty introduced by him in the tale of the storm is that the refugees vowed not only an Atashbehram but a Baj and Afringân in the name of the angel on the Behram-roz of every month.

હમેશ બેહરામ રોજને દહાડે બાજ તથા આફરિનગાન કરાવવાં.—(p. 127).

In the account of the landing also he is much more circumstantial than the *Kissch*. He informs us that the Raja forbade any one to land except *four* of their wisest, on which that number of Mobeds went up to the Hindu chief, and again affecting that Perfect Number of the Pythagoreans, he asserts that the *four* Mobeds asked for a *four* days' respite, when the Raja required them to expound the principles of their faith, which they did in sixteen shlokas—the square of *four*.—Then follows the important passage about the landing which has been the subject of endless discussion as well as confusion among us.

તારે રાજાએ બારકશો ઉપરથી ઉતરવાનો હુકમ કીધો તેથી શરવે લોકો શંખજી માહાં ઉતરેઆં. તે દીવશનો શને શાહાતશોને બોહોતેર શ્રાવણ શુદ્ધ ૯ વાર શુક્રે રોજ રઁઅહમન અને માહ ૪ તીર હતો તે દીવશે શંખજીમાહા ઉતરી મુકામ કીધો હતો. (p. 149).

There is nothing added to the *Kissah* account of the first Atash-behram except that the day of installation is said to have been Roz Adar Mah Adar, without, any mention of the year. Then again there is no notable departure from Bahman's narrative except that in telling the tale of the Sack of Sanjen, Dastur Aspan-diarji declares that the Iranshah was sent away to the Bansdah jungles before the battle with Alafkhan and makes no allusion whatever to the twelve years during which it is said by Bahman to have been hidden at *Bâhrot*.

તેથી આપણા લોકોએ હથીઆર બાંધવા કયુલ કીધાં અને શરવે લોકોએ વીચા કરી આપણા આતશ બેહરામને વાંસદાના જંગલમધે પાહાડમાંમાં મુકામ કરી કેટલાએ હીરયુદો શાયે મોકલેઓ અને જે કોઇ લડાઇ કરનારા હતા તેનો શુભાર કહાડેએ તેવારે ૧૪૦૦) ચઉદાશે લસક મરદ નીકલેઆ. (p. 153.)

He then sums it all up thus with an eye to the real object of his pamphlet.

હવે આપણા લોકો સનજાંબુમાંમાં ઉતરેઆ તે દીનગી હીશાય કરતાં આપણા હીદીશતાનના પારશીઓની તારીખ શહી થાયે છે તેહતું સહમજતું એ જે શન-જાંબુમાંમાં ઉતરેઆનો દીવશનો શને ૭૭૨ શાતશે બોહોતેર શાંવજુ શુદ ૯ શુકરવાર તીર મહીનો ને બહમન રોજ હતો તેહને હાલ શવંત ૧૮૮૨ સુધી ગણતા ૧૧૧૦ અગીઆરશે ને દશ વરશ થાય છે. (p. 157)

It is needless to add that most of the new features in this narrative are of no particular interest or importance. They only supply additional illustrations, if such were wanted, of the process by which unauthorised accretions grow around a small nucleus of primitive tradition. But there are in it two points which have an important bearing on the chronological question and deserve notice in as much as they supply the links that were hitherto wanting for arriving at a just notion of the mental processes by which many of these results have been arrived at.

The first and most instructive is the interpolation of the apocalyptic or prophetic element into the narrative of Bahman. The Persian Zoroastrians are said to have known all about "the evil to come" and to have even made arrangements *in anticipation*, for their personal safety and liberty of conscience, *forty-nine years before* the accession of the last of the Sassanians, and nearly a decade before the beginning of the reign of Khosru Parviz, one of the longest and most glorious in the Sassanian epoch. The reason of all this strange patchwork it is not at all difficult to understand. The Dastur had seen somewhere the figure 772 which I have shewn to exist in a MS. written probably before he was born; but it had to be fitted into the *Kissah* account of the 100 years in Kohistan and, the 15 and 19 years spent at Hormuz and Div. If he had followed Bahman closely, the date of the landing would have been 765 A.C., 770 A.C., 775 A.C., or 785 A.C., according as the starting point adopted was 631 A.C., the accession of Yazdajard, 636 A.C., the date of the battle of Kadisiyah, 641 A.D., the disastrous year of Nehavend, or 651 A.D., that of

Yazdajard's murder. In no case however, could it have been anything near 716 A.C. (772 V. S.), and the only way to obtain that number was to subtract from the lowest of the four figures, 765, the number 49, make the wanderings in Kohistan commence forty-nine years before the earliest possible date that could be taken, viz. 631, A. C. and press the Zend Avesta and the Jamaspi into his service. Thus $A.C. 631 - 49 = A.D. 582 + 100 \text{ (Kohistan)} + 15 \text{ (Hormuz)} + 19 \text{ (Div)} = 716 \text{ A.C.} = 772 \text{ Vikram Samvat.}$

The traditional date of the consecration of the first Indian Firetemple at Sanjan,—Roz Adar Mah Adar 772 V. S., 721 A.C., is nothing more than a conjecture, a corollary of this *blundered* figure for the landing. As Bahman himself is absolutely silent about the period that intervened between the arrival of the refugees and the consecration of the fire-temple, and merely says that one day the Dasturs waited on the Raja for permission to build an Atashbeheram—it was *assumed* that many years had not elapsed. Perhaps it was thought by the glossators a matter of filial duty also to believe, that their devout ancestors had not allowed an unduly long interval to pass before fulfilling the vow which they had made in their time of trouble. Five years were consequently taken to be sufficient for preparations, and Roz Adar Mah Adar was chosen in preference to any other day because it was that of the old Adar feast or Festival of Fire.*

I will now take another of these entries, which is not at all generally known. Ervad Maneckji Rustomji Unwalla has two miscellaneous volumes of Avesta, Sanscrit, Pazand and Persian writings in which it occurs in two forms: one in the Gujarati character, another in the Pazand. The MSS. appear from a number of colophons scattered about in the odd corners of different folios to have been written by Ervad Darabji Maneckji Pahlانji Fardunji, about 1750 A.C., Samvat 1806. The substance of both the entries is found in two places in the Introduction to Ervad Sheriarji D. Bharucha's edition of Neriosenghs Sanscrit Writings, (Pt. II. pp. XVIII-XIX.), but with the important omission of the last item.

In one of these MSS., we are promised on folio 274, (E. M. U. 12) (' સંવત ૧૪૭૫ માં આતશબેરાંમ શંભનથી લાએઆ તેની હકીકત ') a "detailed account of how or when the Atash Behram was brought from Sanjan." This promise is however not fulfilled there but on a subsequent page in which we read in Gujarati : (Folio 290).

* Alberuni, Chronology of Ancient Nations, Sachau. p. 211.

સંવત ૭૭૭ માં શ્રી ધરાન જમીનથી દસ્તુર તા. બેહેદીતુએ કુચ કીધી તે વગત લખીસિ “વરસ.”

૫૦ મતદરક વાસ	૫૦)
૧૦૦ કોહિસ્તાનમાં	૧૦૦
૧૫ હોરમજદમાં	૧૫
૧૯ દીવમાં	૧૯
૩૦૦ સંઘનમાં	૩૦૦
૧૪ વાંસદિ	૧૪
દરતુશારી બાકી રહી.	[૨૦૦]

The Pazand entry on Folio 119 of E. M. U. 11 is as follows :

સંવત ૭૭૭ સાતસીતોનેરમાં ધરાન જમીનથી દસ્તુર મોબેદો એયા બેહેદીન અગેખતે કુચ કર્દ.

મુતદરકવાસ	સાલ પનગહ.
કોહિસ્તાન	સદ સાલ.
હોરમજદ	પાનઝદેહ સાલ.
દીવ	નુઝદેહ સાલ.
સંઘન	સીસદ સાલ.
વાંસદે	ચહારદેહ સાલ.
દર નોસારી બાકી રહી.	[૨૦૦]

A similar statement—but with some differences—is found in a Miscellaneous Notebook of the late Dastur Erachji Sorabji Meherji Rana's, copied from some source which, contrary to the practice of that laborious and painstaking scholar, is not mentioned.

શ્રી ધરાણુથી દશતુર તથા બેહેદીનોએ કુચ કીધી અને તાંહાંથી નીશરેઆ શંવત ૭૭૭ માં તેહને શંવત ૧૮૨૯ લગે તથા શને ૧૧૨૪ ધયજદનરદી લગીન વરશ ૧૦૫૨ આએઆં તેની તક્શીલ છે.

૫૦ મુતદરક રાહમાં ઇઆને પરચુતન જગાઓમાં તથા ગામોમાં વરશ.
૧૦૦ કોહિસ્તાનમાં વરશ.
૧૫ હોરમજ શેહરમાં વરશ.
૧૯ દીવ શેહેરમાં વરશ.
૩૦૦ શનજાણુમાં વરશ.
૧૪ વાશંદામાં વરશ.
જુમલે ૪૯૮

૫૫૪ શંવત ૧૨૭૫ માં નોશારી આવેઆ તેને શંવત ૧૮૨૬ અને ૧૧૪૨ ઇયજ્ઞ-
જરદી લગીન ૫૫૪ થયાં છે.

જ્યુમલે ૧૦૫૨

શ્રી આતશબેહેરામ સાહેબને નોશારી ચાંગાશાહ વગેરે અનજ્યુમન લાવેઆ તે
શંવત ૧૪૭૨ ઇયજ્ઞજરદીમાં લાવેઆ. તેને શંવત ૧૮૨૬ અને ૧૧૪૨ ઇયજ્ઞજરદી
લગીન વરસ ૩૫૭ થયાં છે. †

Now $777 + 50 + 100 + 15 + 19 + 300 + 14 = 1275$ only. But the total is 1475. It follows that we must suppose the writer of the E.M.U. MSS. to have meant that they spent the (બાકી) remaining 200 years in Navsari, in which of course he follows the *Kissah*. You will note here that the speculative chronologer,—whoever he was—to whom we are indebted for this reckoning, had a terminal point and wanted a starting point. If he had worked backwards and attempted to follow the *Kissah* closely, he would have had to put the starting point of the wanderings in 761 A.D. = 815 V. Samvat. Thus,

V.S. 1475 — 14 (Bansdah) = 1461 — 12 (Barot) = 1449 — 200 (Gujrat towns) = 1249 — 300 (Sanjan) = 949 — 19 (Div) = 930 — 15 Hormuz = 915 — 100 (Kohistan) = 815 V. Samvat = 761 A.C. But there was no traditional figure corresponding to this. The traditional dates were only A.C. 716 and 721, and of these, the last was the nearest by five. What was to be done? Why, to draw upon the vague tradition which spoke of a cycle of forty-nine or fifty-one or fifty years' wanderings in Kohistan. That there was some such notion floating about, some faint idea of a cycle of fifty (or forty-nine or fifty-one) which was differentiated some how from the century spent in Kohistan, is apparent from the manner in which Dastur Aspandiarji also has handled his figures. The difference between the two methods is this. Aspandiarji made the 49 years a part of the Kohistan century, *placing them in the very beginning*. The other speculator placed it *at the end* and tacked it on there, for Aspandiarji's treatment involved the unthinkable supposition of making the wanderings commence *ata* time when there were no signs of the fall of the Persian monarchy.

But this gave him only V. Samvat 789; Thus,

V. Samvat 1475—(14 + 12 + 200 + 300 + 19 + 15 + 100 + 50) = 1475
— 710 = 765 V. S. = 709 A. C.

† Navsari Mehrji Rana Library MS. F. 23.

But this also did not fit in with any of the traditional figures. What then was to be done! Why, knock out the 12 years of Bahrot, for was there not a tradition (of which also we have heard the echo in Aspandiarji, and which is the *second* in point above referred to), that the Sanjan fire was sent to the Bansdah jungles *at once* and *before* the sack. The account would then stand thus:

V. Samvat 1475—(14+200 + 300+19 + 15 + 100 + 50)=1475—698
= V. S. 777=721 A. C.

And so we get a figure identical with one of the two traditional numbers. It is not made the date of the Arrival, because that would entail the unthinkable notion I have already referred to, but of the Commencement of the Wanderings—two very different events, it is true, and separated by many decades, from each other; but are not the Numerals exactly the same as those handed down from old times for the date of *some great event*,—whatever it was—and is that not sufficient!

Now how did this idea of a fifty year's additional wanderings originate? I believe we must look for the source in the *Kissah*—a couplet of which has been ingeniously made a peg on which to hang this new item.

چواز شاه یزد جرد شاهی برفت — که جد دین آمد و تختش گرفت
از آن مدت شکسته گشت ایران — دریغ آن ملک دین افتاده ویران
بدانگا بی شده هرکس پراگند — بر آنکو داشت دل برزند و پازنه
چوبه دینان و دستوران سراسر — نه کار دین نهان گشته بیکسر
مقام و جای و باغ و کاخ و ایوان — همه بگذاشته از بهر دین شان
بکوهستان همی ماندند مدامال — چو ایشانرا بدینگونه شده حال

"When the Kingdom had departed from King Yazdajard and the enemy of the faith came and seized his throne, from that period Iran was shattered. Alas, that that land of the True Faith became desolate. In those times, or during that period (*Badangahi*) everyone was scattered, (*Paragand*), everyone whose heart was bound up with the Zand and Pazand. Then the Behdins and the Dasturs concealed themselves altogether and could not perform the ceremonies of the Faith, and they abandoned for the sake of their religion their habitations, places, gardens, palaces and halls. They remained a hundred years in Kohistan, when their condition became of this description," (*i. e.* when they were unable to perform the ceremonies of the faith on account of persecution.)

If we narrowly examine the language of Bahman, we can easily understand the mental processes of these latter-day chronologists.

‘When the Kingdom had departed from King Yazdajard, from that period, Iran was shattered.’

This couplet can furnish and to our knowledge has furnished three different starting points and therefore three different dates for the arrival at Sanjan—770, 775 and 785 A. C.

It would not be at all difficult to maintain that the Kingdom departed from the Sassanians in 636 A. C., when the Persian host was routed at Kadisiyah,—or in 641 A. C., when the doom of the Iranian Monarchy was pronounced on the fatal field of Nahavend, or in 651 A. C., when the hapless monarch was murdered in the Mill at Marv-i-Shāh-jān. According as one or other of these three starting points was preferred, one or other date would be put forward as the true year. Indeed, Mr J. J. Mody, favoured 775 in 1903*, 785 in 1905* and stood up for 785 in 1908,† and 721 is, as I have shewn, only a manipulated result of 765.

If we proceed further, we read بدانگی (Badāngāhi) “During that period or that interval, everyone was scattered,” and it is only after this statement about their having been scattered, that we are informed of the Dasturs and Behdins concealing themselves in Kohistan and remaining there a hundred years. Now بدانگی (Badāngāhi) is a delightfully vague phrase which may be made to mean a period of almost any length or brevity. It was also noted, in the usual style of glossators, that پراگندن (parāgandan) came first and نهان شدن (Nihān shudan) afterwards. What more natural than to suppose that a certain period intervened between the loss of the monarchy and the beginning of the concealment in Kohistan and then to take this initial period to have been about half as long as the Kohistan Century?

And there you have the genesis of the Fifty years of ‘مُتَفَرِّقًا’ Mutafarrak, which is the exact Arabic equivalent of the Persian پراگند “parāgand.”

A few words about the minor and feebler streams of tradition to which I have more than once alluded in the course of this discussion will not perhaps be out of place here. That all sorts of confident statements about details were interpolated in course

* B. B. R. A. S. Journal Vol. XXI p. 10 and Centenary Volume p. 234.

† A few Events in the Early History of the Parsis p. 9.

of time, we have already seen from the narrative of Aspandiarji. We know that tradition abhors a vacuum and dearly loves to fill up any little gaps that happen to have been left. We have heard of the four Dasturs, the four days of respite, the Bahram Roz Afringan and we all know that the usual explanation of the Parsi aversion from eating beef is still connected in the popular mind with an undertaking to that effect supposed to have been given to Jadi Rana at the time of landing, although there is not a word about beef eating in the five conditions imposed by the Hindu chief in the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* or in the famous sixteen Shlokas of Akadhāru.

All this points to other streams of tradition and we have a proof of the same in the curious 'Discovery of the Banyans and the Persees' of Henry Lord, (1621) who was at Surat about the same time as Bahman lived at Navsari and who wrote his account from information given by a Parsi of that town "whose long employment in the Company's service had brought him to a mediocrity in the English tongue."

After relating that the "Arabian captains of the sect of Mahomed" invaded Persia in the reign of Yazdajard and that Yazdajard "was forced to fly to Karason (Khorasan) where he died suddenly," he says:

"These Persees not enduring to live contrary to the precept of their own law and less able to reject their yoke, many of them by privy escape and as close conveyance as they might, of their goods and substance, determined on a voyage for the Indies purposing to prove the mildness of the Panian Rajahs, if from these, though they lived in subjection for matter of government, they might obtain liberty of conscience in course of religion. So repairing to Jasques, a place in the Persian Gulf, they obtained a fleet of seven junks, to convey them and theirs as merchantmen bound for the shores of India in course of trade and merchandise. It happened that in safety they made to the land of St. John's on the shores of India, and arrived together at or near the port of Swaly, the usual receptacle of such shippers as arrive there. A treaty was made by some of them with a Rajah living at Nuncery [Navsari] publishing their aggrievances and the cause of their coming thither, as also of their suit to be admitted as sojourners with them, using their own law and religion, but yielding themselves in subjection to their government upon payment of homage and tribute, they were admitted to land the passengers contained in five of their junks.

"The other two junks remaining, one of them put into the road of Swaley, and treated with a Rajah that then resided at Bariyav, neere unto Surat, who entertained them on like conditions to the former: but the Rajah of that place having wars with a neighbouring rajah who got the conquest, the Persees that resided with the conquered were all put to the sword as adherents to the enemy. The last junk coasted along the shores and arrived at Cambay, where they were received upon the prementioned conditions, so that howsoever this people have been dispersed in India since their arrival, it has been from some of these places."*

You will see that if Aspandiarji has *four* Dasturs and a *four* days' respite and drops Barot and brings in the Portuguese at Div in the 8th Century, Lord and his informant are not very far behind. They have *seven* ships, one of which sails to Bariav and another to Cambay. *Five* only of the seven make to the land of St. John's in safety, but arrive somehow at Swaley—"the usual receptacle of such Shippers as arrive there," no doubt in the 17th, but not therefore in the 8th Century—and make the treaty with a Rajah of neither Sanjan nor Swaley but 'Nuncery.' The inconsistencies in this halting and incongruous narrative scarcely deserve or require any express mention, but the quotation proves that there were other traditional versions which were available to and occasionally made use of by those curious inquirers, who speculated on these events in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries much as we have done in the nineteenth and do in the twentieth.

There is still another date for the landing at Sanjan which though it is mentioned in the *Parsi Prakash*, has found little favour, and so far as I know has been never referred to by any one who has taken part in these discussions; but that may be perhaps only because it is hidden away in the supplement of that most valuable repertory of facts. Mr. Bomanji Patell says that in a MS. of the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* in the handwriting of Dastur Rustamji Tehmulji Mirza of Udwarā, dated V. Samvat 1872=1816 A. C., there is a note to the effect that the Parsis first landed at Sanjan on Sunday, Roz 1, Mah 4, Samvat 895=839 A. C.†

Here the Parsi Roz Mah is all but identical with that given by Dastur Aspandiarji—Roz Bahman, Mah Tir,—though the week day and year are different.

* Discovery of the Sect of Banians and the Religion of the Persees, pp. 2-4 ed. 1639, Pinkerton, Travels, VIII, 556-7.

† Parsi Prakash, Part X. p. 839.

It is perhaps scarcely worth while to trouble about such an absolutely unsupported statement, going not further back than A. C. 1816—and I have not been at all anxious about obtaining a clue to it, but if we add up,

(651 + 50 + 100 + 15 + 19) we get 835 A. C. = 891 V. Samvat which is only four short of 895 V. Samvat. Perhaps this arithmetician took what I have called the initial period to be not 49 or 50 or 51 years but 54.

Now let us take the traditional dates for the Navsari Atash Behram which are two, though both of them have been given up as irreconcilable with the *Kissah* as well as with history by modern writers.

The date 1416 A.D. = 1472 V. Samvat is given by Anquetil† and seems to have been inserted somewhere in his copy of the *Kissah*. It is also given by Dastur Shapurji Sanjana in his *Kissah-i-Atash-beheram-i-Navsari* written in 1765.

سنه گریزدجردی رابدانی — هشتاد و پنج برهمنده بخوانی

"If you would know the Yazdajardi year (in which this took place) read seven hundred and eighty five (Yazdajardi = 1416 A.C.)

It appears to have been obtained by adding to A.C. 716—the favourite date of the landing—700, the number of years in round numbers which, according to the generally received interpretation of a much-discussed couplet in the *Kissah*, intervened between the landing and the installation of the Atash Behram at Navsari. Let us see what Bahman says :

بدینسان سال سیصد و هشتاد و پنج — وز آنجا که مردم شه کم و بیش
پراکنده شده در کشور هند — بهر جانب گرفته جایی دلیده
ببالا نیر بعضی رو نهاده — کسان در جانب بروج فغانده
* * * * *

بسی شادی و آبادانی و حال — گذاریدند زینگونه دو سه سال

They (the Indian Parsees) spent three hundred years less or more at Sanjan after the landing and spread to Vankaner, Broach, Naosari, Anklesar and Cambay during the two hundred years that followed.

† Anquetil reached Surat on 1st May 1758, obtained his copy of the *Kissah* on or before 24th March 1759 and started from Bombay on 28th April 1761.

Bahman then says that a few Dasturs' households remained at Sanjan and he singles out for praise a priest of the name Khushmast, adding that his son Khujastah was always performing the Yazashne and Baj ceremonies. Lastly, we have:

به‌ینسان هفتصد ساله گذشته — در آن شهرش بسی اولاد گشته
چون چندی سالیان بروی گذشته — بروکج آسمان زینگونه گشته

"In this way *seven hundred years* elapsed and his descendants multiplied in the town. When some years passed over them, the heavens became untoward or unfavourable to them in this manner."

It is not easy to reconcile these *seven hundred years* with the statement about $300 + 200 = 500$ which just precedes it and it has been held by some that the couplet is an interpolation, though of the the six Mss. of the *Kissah*—some of them very good and old—which I have seen, there is not one in which it does not occur. Other critics have out of it made capital for discrediting as worthless a writer who speaks of five hundred years in one line and suddenly throws seven hundred at our heads without any explanation. I ought to add that there is a MS of the *Kissah* lying upon the table which reads هفتاد هفتصد. It is probably a copyist's emendation but it is ingenious and also interesting as indicating that the line had exercised the ingenuity of our predecessors as it has ours. It is also worth noting that Dastur Shapurji Sanjana takes the verse to mean that the *seven hundredth year of the Yezdejardi era* had now arrived.

Anquetil du Perron is always worth hearing on such a matter. Let us therefore see what he has to say about it.

"Les 700 et 500 ans sont des comptes ronds au lieu de 750 á 760 et 560 ou 580. Le auteur de cette relation adopte ordinairement le plus courts et ses résultats sont difficiles a reconcilier avec la suite les evenemens. Je suppose qu'il calcule d'après l'époque d'Iezdedjerd qu'il ne le nomme qu'à la fin, a l'occasion du transport du feu Bahram á Nausari.

"The seven and five hundred years are round numbers instead of 750 to 760 and 560 or 580. The author of this narrative ordinarily adopts the greatest brevity and his results are difficult to reconcile with the sequence of events. I suppose that he calculates according to the era of Yezdejard which he does not mention upto the end, on the occasion of the transportation of the fire of Bahram to Nausari."

This shows that Anquetil at least entertained no suspicions as to the genuineness of the couplet. He is perfectly right in holding that 700 is only a round number, and I take it that what Bahman himself meant was this. Five hundred years had elapsed since the arrival of the Parsis at Sanjan but 634 ($200 + 300 + 15 + 19 + 100$), in round numbers seven hundred, had passed since the abandonment of their homes or the beginning of their wanderings or since the loss of their empire. And this is what Dastur Shapurji Sanjana also says.

Lastly, let us take the other date for the Navsari Fire Temple. Mr. Kharshedji Kama was the first to make public mention of it in the *Fazdajardi Tarikh* (1870, p. 39) merely stating that he had obtained it from a "friend." Eight years later, Mr. Bomanji Patel quoted it from a MS. of Yashts and Nirangs copied in Samvat 1856—1800 A.C.—by Fredun Framarz Sanjana, from an older MS. dated 1714 Samvat, 1658 A.C. But Mr. Bomanji did not give the Hindu *tithi*. It also occurs in a MS. Notebook of Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana's in the Navsari Meherji Rana Library (MS. F. 53.) The statement purports to be that the Iranshah was brought from Bansda and installed at Navsari on Wednesday, Ashad Shud 5, Roz Mahrespand, Mah Shahrivar, 1475 Samvat = 26th June O. S. (1419, A.C.)

Here I may be permitted to add a few words about the Roz Mah—Mahrespand—Shahrivar = 26th June. To me, the idea of Parsis attempting to bring over the sacred fire from Bansdah—more than fifty miles, at that time of the year, through jungles and along roads which are all but impassable even now during the rainy season, appears exceedingly improbable. I propose to discuss this question in detail in another paper and so it will suffice here to say that the arguments advanced against it by Mr. Bomanji Patel himself have been generally accepted by students of our early history and that everything points to the Atashbeheram having been taken for the first time to Navsari at a much later period.

There can be little difficulty now in perceiving that almost all these calculators have drawn from a common fountain-head of oral or written tradition, and that the divergences are due to conflicting interpretations of that source, attempts to supply its omissions, real or supposed, and to minor streams of tradition which did not command the same general acquiescence, but which still survived in the minds and memories of small sections of the population. The original stream of tradition, it is needless to say, is found crystallized in the

Kissah-i-Sanjan, which in point of time is undoubtedly earlier than many of these odd entries, and the discrepancies can be easily accounted for by the ambiguities, obscurities and doubtful readings of Bahman's text.

I do not propose to discuss here the merits and demerits of Bahman's interesting work, but it is plain that Bahman is not and does not profess to be an *accurate* chronologist. There is not a single date to be found in his eight or nine hundred lines except that of the composition of the poem itself in the *Khâtimah*. He never says of any event that it occurred in such and such a year of such and such an era. He merely implies that certain things *happened after the extinction of the Sassanian power* and the domination of the Juddin—the Arabs—a phrase which is exceedingly vague. Anquetil du Perron noticed more than 150 years since that Bahman deals in *round* numbers (100, 200, 300, 500. and 700);* and as if to impress upon his readers that his are *round* numbers only, he explicitly declares in one place that the number of years spent in Sanjan before spreading into the towns of Gujrat was '*three hundred, more or less,*' کم و بیش (Kamo-bish). But whereas Bahman is professedly vague and openly declares his numbers to be but approximately correct, his ambitious glossators, not content with such indefinite information, have aspired to evolve out of his succinct narrative, by more or less ingenious or imaginative constructions of his phrases and chance expressions, chronological schemes of their own, which have aggravated the confusion and made it almost impossible for us to arrive at the truth.

It is consequently easy to see that while exhibiting many apparently inexplicable differences, all these calculations bear throughout a curious family resemblance. It is evident at a glance that there are some items in the reckoning which are common to all of them, some postulates which all of them accept without question. At the same time, there appear to be a few indeterminate factors which every one manipulates according to his own sweet will, and in such fashion as will bring up the preconceived result that is required by himself. I do not think there can be any serious doubts about these manipulations or the artificial character of all these reckonings.

What then are we to conclude? Why this, that the sooner we relegate these figures *as they now are* to the limbo of exploded errors, the better for the early reconstruction on a sound critical basis of our

* Tome I. Pte I, cccxx note.

History. I may be wrong, but after an honest attempt to arrive at the truth with all the strength of my understanding, I am compelled to believe that they are not at all like the dates with which our historical manuals have made us familiar, precise and reliable statements as to the sequence of events which were recorded at the time when, or not long after the events themselves occurred. I believe these statements to be speculative dates, calculated dates, *ex post facto* results of calculations made upon the basis of a few generally accepted postulates, but combined diversely by different persons with conjectures, emendations and probable estimates of their own. In other words, I believe these statements to be the fruits of that historical curiosity which is always a plant of late growth even among civilized nations, and to be therefore comparatively modern. I believe them to have now misled and bewildered us, in all conscience, for a sufficiently long period, and I cannot but think that if in spite of making notable progress in other branches of Iranian research, our ignorance of early Parsi history in this country is to-day almost as dense as it was fifty or even a hundred years ago, it is due in no small measure to the obsession exercised by these unlucky numerals.

At the same time, I beg that you will not misunderstand me. When I say that these entries are not worthy of acceptance, *at least in their present form*, and that most of them are based on speculative or *ex post facto* calculations, I do not mean that those who jotted them down at odd moments on margins and fly leaves, had any knowledge of their unauthenticity or any intention to delude or even to perplex any body. All I mean is that those who first made these calculations and those who copied their results, were men, who like ourselves, were anxious to know when these most interesting events occurred and how those events were correlated the one to the other. Just as chronological systems have been constructed in our own days, just as Dr. Wilson propounded one with his Jayadeva for Jadi Rana and A.C. 1507 for the Sack of Sanjan,* just as Wilford put forward another with his three different emigrations, and eighteen thousand refugees,† just as the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer has his, just as every one of these has had and perhaps, still has followers, so these forerunners of ours in the same department of inquiry made up systems of their own by accepting or

* Indian Antiquary Vol. I Pt. 1, B. B. R. A. S. Journal I. 180.

† Asiatic Researches IX. 235.

rejecting, favouring or disfavouring some view about this, that or the other detail. Far from intending to deceive any body, they were deceived themselves. Far from being open to any imputation of bad faith, theirs were honest attempts, pioneer attempts, to construct for the satisfaction of their own understandings an intelligible chronology out of their materials. To adopt another comparison, which ought to go home to this Society at least, if to no other, they attempted to do something like what so many writers, Asiatic and European, Alberuni and Hamza Isfahani, Tabari and Firdusi, Malcolm and Mordtmann, Ouseley and Rawlinson have attempted to do for the chronology of the Sassanians, the Ashkanians, or the Kianians. The calculator who first pitched upon Samvat 1472 or 777 was no more to blame than Malcolm and others of his ilk who thought Cyrus was identical with Kaikhusru or Darius Hystâsperes with the Avestan Vishtaspa and raised on that basis an imposing superstructure of synchronisms which has been long since blown down to the ground. He was mistaken as we now know Malcolm to have been, but he was as honest an investigator as Sir John or any other of the numerous host—Arab, French, German or English—who have been fighting over the bones of the Sassanians and Kianians.

II

THE TRADITIONAL DATES OF PARSİ HISTORY.

(A paper read before the Society for the Promotion of Zoroastrian Research on 15th November, 1913.) *

I propose to submit for your dispassionate consideration to-day a new view of the second of the two most important traditional dates in the early history of our people, according to which the Sanjan fire is said to have been brought from Bānsda to Navsari on Roz 29, Mah 6, Ashād Shud 5, Wednesday, Samvat 1475 [A. Y. 788; 26th June 1419 A. C., Old Style].

This statement is found mentioned in print for the first time in the 'Yazdajardi Tārikh' of Mr. K. R. Kama (1870) as one of two old Hindu-Parsi synchronisms for which he was indebted to some friends unnamed.

“વાંસદેથી આતશબેહરામ નોસારી લાવેઆ તેનો દહાડોવાર નીચે મુજબ મહેઓ છે. સંવત ૧૪૭૫, આખાડ શુદ્ધ ૫ ને વાર ખુધે, યજ્ઞજરદી સને ૭૮૮, રોજ ૨૯ માહ ૬ ઠો.”¹

Eight years later, Mr. Bahmanji Bahramji Patell wrote :

“એક જુની યજ્ઞશનેની પોથી જે નવસારી મધે સંવત ૧૭૧૪ (ઈ. સ. ૧૬૫૮) માં દસ્તુર હમજીઆર રામ સંજાણુને હાથની લખાયલી હતી તે ઉપરથી કેટલીક યજ્ઞશ તે તથા તાવીજો લખવાની નીરગોની સંવત ૧૮૫૬ (ઈ. સ. ૧૮૦૦) માં વલશાડ મધે એ. ફરેદુન ફરામરોજ સંજાણુએ કીધેલી નકલ અતરેના એક જરયોશતી શેહ રસ્તમજી જમશેદજી બાંબોટવાલાએ અમોને દેખાડી હતી, તેમાં સંજાણુવાલા આતશબેહરામને નવસારી લાવવાનો સને તથા દિવસ સંવત ૧૪૭૫, રોજ ૨૯ માહ ૬ (તા. ૨૬ મી જુન, ૧૪૧૯ ઈ. સ.) કરી લખેલો છે. મુજબવાલા દસ્તુર એરયજી તથા જમશ્પજી સોહરામજી મેહરજી રાણાના તેમજ એ. મચેરજી જમશ્પજી વાછાએ પોતાની પાસેની નોંધામાંથી અમોને જે શને તથા દિવસ એ વિશેનો આપ્યો હતો તે પણ ઉપલાને ખરોખર મળતો આવે છે. લેકીન તવારીખની બાબતો જોતાં એ વર્ષમાં આતશ બેહરામ નવસારી આવી શકે નહી.”²

“Mr. Rustomji Jamshedji Bamboatwalla, a Zoroastrian of this city has shown us a MS. of *Yashts and Nirangs* copied at Bulsar in Samvat 1856 (A. C. 1800) by Fredun Framarz Sanjana from an old Codex of the *Yazashne* written at Navsari in Samvat 1714 (A. C. 1658) by Dastur Hamjiar Ram Sanjana. In this MS. the

* A few passages have been added and two or three points further elaborated.

1 *Yazdajardi Tārikh* p. 39.

2. *Parsi Prakash*, 5. Note.

fire temple of Sanjan is said to have been brought to Navsari on Roz 29, Mah 6, Samvat 1475 (26th June, 1419 A. C.). The date for the same event which has been given to us by Dasturs Erachji and Jamaspji Sohrabji Meherji Rana and Ervad Mancherji Jamaspji Vacha of Bombay from notes in their possession is in complete agreement with the above. But considering the actual historical facts, *it is not at all possible for the fire temple to have been brought to Navsari in that year.*"

Now we have all felt the weight of some at least of the arguments which can be urged against this chronological statement. In the first place, it is not in accord with the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*. The author of that narrative places the transportation of the Iranshah from Bansda to Navsari, twenty-six years after the sack of Sanjan by Sultan Mahmud Begada. But Mahmud came to the throne only in 1459 A. C.³, so that if there is any truth in the *Kisseh* account, the event could not have, by any means, taken place before 1485 A. C. Secondly, it is admitted on all hands that Changa Asa was the Behedin who took the most prominent part in inducing the priest-hoods of Sanjan and Navsari to compromise their differences and instal the sacred fire at the latter town. But the Revayets—contemporary documents of unimpeachable authority on such a question—represent Changa as living between 1478 and 1511 A. C.⁴ If Changa then, was even a hundred years old in 1511 A. C., he would be only a boy of eight in 1419, A. C., and if he was ninety or less, he would not have been born at all at the time. On the other hand, actual calculation has discovered that the five items here mentioned, the Parsi Roz Mah, the Hindu tithi and the week-day, all coincide for the year 1475 (Vikram Samvat)⁵, a most remarkable fact in favour of the authenticity of *a part, at least, of the entry*, as it is not very likely that any Zoroastrian priest possessed in the subsequent centuries the knowledge and mathematical equipment necessary for computing correctly from the Parsi date the corresponding Hindu tithi or *vice versa*. And supposing there was some person capable of doing this, it is difficult to understand why he should have gone out of his way and taken the unnecessary trouble of working out two

3 Bayley, History of Gujarat, 161; *Mird-i-Sikandary*, Bombay Text, 75, Fázal Lutfulla's Translation, 41; Briggs, Ferishta, IV. 43-46.

4 *Parsi Prakash*, 6-7, Ervad M. R. Unwalla's Lithographed Text of Darab Hormazd-yar's Revayet, II, 379-396.

5 *Yasdajardi Túrkh*, 39-40.

dates when one—either the Parsi Roz or the Hindu Tithi—would have sufficed by itself.

What then can be the solution of this puzzle, for such it really is. It is perfectly certain that the week day, the Roz Mah and the Tithi all tally for the Vikram Samvat 1475, but it is almost equally certain that the event associated with the day in question did not occur *in that year at all*. The only tenable supposition is that the Roz Mah and Tithi portion of the memorandum is correct, but that the statement concerning the Navsari Fire temple is *unhistorical*; in other words that *some interesting or memorable event did occur on Roz 29, Mah 6, Ashad Shud 5, V. S. 1475, but that it was not the installation of the sacred fire at Navsari.*⁶

I am happy to be able to exhibit to you today not only the Bamboatwalla MS. seen by Mr. Bahmanji Patell, but its original, the collection of Yashts and Nirangs transcribed in Samvat 1714 (1658 A. C.). For the first, I have to make my acknowledgements to Mr. Bamboatwalla's daughter, Mrs. Dossibai R. Chinai, for the second, to a member of your own Society, Ervad Manekji R. Unwalla.

The actual words employed in the Bamboatwalla MS. are :

શ્રી આતશ બિહિરાંમ નુશારીમાં પધારીઆ તેનું વરશ તથા
રોજ મહીનું લખેલ છે. (Heading in red ink.)

શંવત ૧૪૭૫ વરખે માહા શહરેવર રોજ મેહરશપંદ આખાડ શુદ ૫ બૂધે શ્રી આતશબેહરામ ગઢંબારમાં ચાનક પધારેઆ શંજાણુથી વાશદે આવેઆ પછે તાંહાંથી બેહેદીન અંજનન મલી નુશારી લેધ આવેઆ એ લખેલું તે પોથું ધજશનિનું દસતુર હમજીઆર રામ શંજાણુનું કદીમ ઝુનું પોથું હતું તે, જોધ એ અશલ કેતાખને લખનારે લખેલ છે તે કેતાખથી અમોએ લખેલ છે.

રોજ શ્રી મોખારક શહરેવર માહા શ્રી મોખારક શહરેવર શંવત ૧૮૫૬ વરખે એ કેતાખ શ્રી વલશાડ મધે લખી. (Written in black ink.)

લખતંગ એરવદ ફરેદન એ. ફરાંમરજ એ. ફશતમ એ. ખુરશદ એ. હોશંગ શંજાણુ એણિ લખી શહી. (in red ink). એ અશલ કેતાખ લખીનાં લખીનાં લખનારનું નામ એ. હરમજદખઆર એ. ફરાંમરજ એ. કામદીન એ. કુકા એ. હરમજદખઆર એ. પદમ એણે શંવત ૧૭૧૪ ના શાલની લખેલી હતી તે અશલથી અમોએ નકલ કીધી છે.

6. I am indebted to Mr. M. P. Kharegat I. C. S. for bringing home to my mind this significant result of the chronological coincidence.

Before discussing the meaning of the passage itself, let us hear what the copyist Fredun Framarz tells us of the history of the memorandum, his own manuscript and of its originals.

"This was written," he declares, "from an old book, the writer of which had himself transcribed it" (*the memorandum not the entire manuscript*) "from an ancient codex of the Yazashne in the handwriting of Dastur Hamjiár Rám Sanjáná.

"This book was copied in Balsar by me, Ervad Fredun Ervad Framarz, Ervad Rustam, Ervad Khurshed, Ervad Hoshang Sanjáná on the blessed day Shahrivar, the blessed month Shahrivar, Samvat 1856. The name of the writer of the old book was Ervad Hormazyár, Ervad Framroze Ervad Kamdin Ervad Kuka Ervad Hormazdyar Ervad Padam, and he transcribed it in the Samvat year 1714. I have copied my book from his original."

You will notice that there are material differences between the paraphrase of Mr. Bahmanji Patell and the actual statements of Fredun Framarz, and nothing perhaps can better illustrate the danger of relying without verification even on the most careful writers in such small points.

In the first place, Fredun Framarz of the Bamboatwállá volume, does not at all assert (as Mr. Bahmanji makes him do) that he copied his book of *Yashts and Nirangs* from the *Yazashne* codex of Dastur Hamjiar Ram Sanjáná. What he really says is that he did so from an exactly similar *collection of Yashts and Nirangs* transcribed in Samvat 1714 by Ervad Hormazyár Ervad Framarz, and that the latter had jotted down this particular memorandum in his MS. of *Yashts and Nirangs* from something which he had come across in the *Yazashne* codex in the handwriting of Dastur Hamjiar Rám Sanjáná. Now the name of this Dastur Hamjiar Ram Sanjáná occurs in Jásá's Revayet of 1516 A. C., and it was this error about him whom I knew to have flourished long before 1658 A. C. (Samvat 1714) that made me entertain serious doubts of Mr. Bahmanji's accuracy. But I was unable to pursue the inquiry until I obtained an inspection of the Bamboatwálla volume, and then discovered in the collection of Ervad M. R. Unwalla the older MS. of Ervad Hormazyár Framarz.

Let us now proceed to determine the meaning of the passage itself, which I quote again for facility of reference.

7. My Reváyet MS. written by Mahrnush Kaikobad, A. Y. 1022. (1653 A.C.) fol. 97 r.

“શંવત ૧૪૭૫ વરખે માહા શહરેવર રોજ મેહેરશપંદ આખાડ શુદ ૫ બુધે શ્રી આતશ બેહેરામ ગહમબારમાં થાનક પધારેઆ શંઝાબુથી વાંશદે આવેઆ પછે તાંહાંથી બેહેદીન અંનમન મલી તુશારી લેઇ આવેઆ.”

The only point of any importance here is the meaning of the word “*Thānak*.” We all know that ‘*thānak*’ is used for “the place or seat of a deity or idol” and શ્રી આતશ બેહેરામ થાનક પધારેઆ ગંહંબારમાં may be taken to mean that “the Atash beheram was lodged or installed on its seat during the [Paitishaham] Gāhāmbār [of Samvat 1475].” But there are insuperable difficulties in the way of understanding the five words in this sense, for if we do so, the question immediately arises, “In what town or village was it so installed during the Gāhāmbār of Samvat 1475?” Was it in the town of Navsari? certainly not, for almost all scholars are agreed that Navsari is out of the question, that Samvat 1475 (A.C. 1419) is absolutely too early.⁸ Indeed, *that is the hypothesis from which we all start and which we cannot now go back upon*. Well then, if it was not Navsari, was it Sanjan? No, certainly not either, for if Parsi tradition is agreed about one thing, it is this that the first Fire Temple was consecrated at Sanjan many hundred years before Samvat 1475 (1419 A.C.)⁹ What then is to be done? There is no other common noun sense of *thānak* that will serve, and of the two places (Navsari and Sanján) to which the phrase so understood can possibly apply, both are *for historical reasons* inadmissible. It follows that *Thānak* must be taken as a proper noun, and “*Shri Atashbeheram thānak padhārya*” will then mean “the firetemple went to or was installed at Thāná.”

It is common knowledge that the present town of Thāná is mentioned in the Silhāra inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as *Shri Sthānak*. The *Shri* is a mere honorific and Dr. Fleet understanding it as nothing else has actually written the name “*Sthānak*” only every where.¹⁰ Indeed, the expressions “*Shri Mumbái bandaré*” and “*Shri Surat bandaré*” are used even now on ceremonial occasions and were all but universally employed in the commercial and even private correspondence of the first half of the last century.

8. B. B. Patell, *Parsi Prakash*, 5, note. J. J. Mody, *A Few Events in Early Parsi History*, 52-3.

9. Bombay Gazetteer XIII, Part i. 249.
Mody, *A Few Events*, 11-13.
Patell, *Parsi Prakash*, 1.

10. Kanarese Dynasties, Bombay Gazetteer I, i, 542-3-4.

The *essential form* therefore is "*Sthānak*" and this is actually found to occur in a grant of Bhojadeva II. of Saka 1113, A. C. 1191 in which his father Vijayaditya Silhara of Karhād is said to have "reinstated in their territory the fallen lords of the province of *Sthānaka* or *Thana*."¹¹ It is easy to understand how this form "*Sthanaka*" would by the elision of the sibilant become "*Thanak*," as *Sthāneshwar*, becomes *Thāneshwar*,¹² *Sthānkundura*, *Tālgund*,¹³ *Mulasthāna*, *Multān*.¹⁴

But all doubts on the matter are set at rest by the fact that the town or district of *Thānā* IS ACTUALLY SPOKEN OF AS "THANAK" in a Sanscrit work of the twelfth century. There is in the Tanjore Palace Library a sort of political Cyclopoedia written by the Western Chalukya king Someshwardeva, called *Abhilāsh-tirtha-chintamani*.¹⁵ In the second chapter of the third book of this work there is a list of sixteen towns and countries famous in those days for "producing silk and other cloths." The names of all these were taken down by Dr. Burnell and the Note has been found among his papers and published by his coadjutor Sir Henry Yule. Here *Thānaka* is mentioned for its silk and other cloths along with China, *Māhachina*, *Avantiskshetra* (Ujjain), *Pandyadesha*, (*Madura*.) *Anitavāta* (*Anahilvād*, *Gujerāt*), *Mulasthāna* (*Multan*), *Vangadesha* (*Bengal*) etc.¹⁶ That this "*Thānaka*" is no other than our *Thānā* is proved beyond doubt by the following facts gathered from Arab and Portuguese writers. *Abul Feda* (1275—1331 A. C.) speaks of *Tana* as celebrated for producing a kind of cloth called *Tanāsi*.¹⁷ Later, and in the days of its decline, the Portuguese historian *De Barros* (1523—1552 A. C.) says that it was in his time full of people who lived by the silk trade and that it possessed a thousand silk looms,¹⁸ and *Dom Joao de Castro* (A. C. 1541) informs us that it once provided work for 900 gold cloth and 1200 plain cloth hand-looms.¹⁹

But there is an older record still in which the same form occurs with a very slight difference. In a *Rashtrakuta* record in the *Dasa-*

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11. Bhandarkar, *History of the Deccan*, 255; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 544, 548, 570.
 12. Albiruni, *India*, tr. Sachau I. 199.
 13. Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 287.
 14. Cunningham, *Ancient Geography*, 233; Albiruni I. 298.
 15. Bhandarkar, *Deccan* 221; Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, 456.
 16. Yule and Burnell; Hobson-Jobson, ed. Crooke, S. V. Burnell, *Classified Index of Tanjore Palace Library*, 141.
 17. Yule, *Marco Polo*, ed. Cordier II. 396. Da Cunha, *Bassein*, 180.
 18. Nairne, *Konkan*, 37, quoting *Decadas* VII. 224.
 19. *Bombay Gazetteer*. XIV. 358.

vatāra temple at Elura, Dantidurga (754 A. C.) is said to have subdued the Kings of Malwa, Lāta and *Tanka* (𑀮𑀺𑀭𑀸).²⁰ Lāta is of course South Gujarat from the Mahi or the Kim to the Daman-gangā²¹ and *Tanka* (𑀮𑀺𑀭𑀸) is most probably another form of *Thānak* or Thāna which with the elision of the final 'K' occurs later as *Tāna* in the Arab writers Mas'udi (913 A. C.),²² Alberuni (970-1031) A. C.,²³ Al Idrisi (12th Century)²⁴ and Ibn Batuta (1342).²⁵

Well then, if *Thānak* is the modern *Thānā*, the paragraph will mean,

"On Roz Mahraspand Mah Shahrivar, Āshad Shud 5, Wednesday, Samvat 1475, the Atashbeheram went to or was installed at Thāna during the Gahanbar. The Behedins and the Anjuman brought it to Navsari after it had been taken from Sanjan to Bansda."

To me, this appears, *in the present state of our knowledge*, as the only tenable construction. I know that the question is a difficult one and I should be the first to welcome any other interpretation which will fit in not only with the ordinary dictionary meaning of the word but *with the facts of Parsi history*, but so long as no such suggestion is forthcoming, I submit that this is deserving of careful consideration.

Having settled the meaning of the words, let us now consider their significance.

In the first place, then, *if the Sanjān Fire-temple was still at Sanjān in 1419 A. C.*, it is manifest that not only Sir James Campbell's theory of that town having been sacked and its Parsi colony exterminated by Alāuddin Khilji's Alafkhan or Ulughkhān between 1295 and 1315 A.C. but all other theories, hypotheses and conjectures which place that event *before 1419 A. C.* are absolutely untenable.

Secondly, we have here a confirmation from the testimony of Dastur Hamjiar Rām Sanjana who was living in 1516 A. C.,—five years only after the death of Mahmud Begada,—of the fact asserted by

20. Bhandarkar, Deccan. 195; Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, 388.-9.

21. Fleet, *ibid*, 310.

22. Prairies d'Or. I. 330-1; Elliot and Dowson, I. 24.

23. India, tr. Sachau. I. 203, 205, 409.

24. Elliot and Dowson I. 89.

25. Yule, Marco Polo II. 396; Elliot and Dowson, III. 619.

Bahman Kaikobad that after the sack, the sacred fire was taken to **Bānsdā** and thence brought to **Navsāri**. This testimony is all the more valuable as it appears from the Genealogy (*Fihrist*) of the **Sanjana** priests that this **Dastur Hamjiar's** father **Ram** was actually the son of **Chhayan Sahiar** himself, "one of the three priests expressly mentioned in the *Kissah* as the faithful guardians of the **Iranshah** during the critical **Bansdah** period.

It is most unfortunate that we are not informed why the **Fire of Bahram** was thus taken from **Sanjan** to **Thana** in 1419 A.C. We can only indulge in conjectures of our own about the reason, and though it may be hazardous to do so, intelligent surmises have their own uses in history. Let us first of all inquire then, if the subsequent annals of the **Navsari Fire-temple** cannot throw any light on the obscurity. Now, we know that in the eighteenth century, the sacred fire had during troublous times of tumult, invasion or **Mahratta** raids, to be transported more than once to some place of safety for fear of desecration, and we even possess contemporary memoranda of the priesthood having been driven to this course on at least three occasions between 1733 A.C. and 1803 A.C. The *Pārsi Prakāsh* records, on the authority of a note in a Manuscript belonging to **Mobed Ratanji Hoshangji** of **Balsar**, that the old **Sanjan Iranshah** had to be spirited away one night in 1733 A. C. from **Navsari** to **Surat** on account of a **Pindara** or **Mahratta** raid, and that the **Sanjana** priests returned with their sacred charge only after three years (1736 A. C.), when things had quieted down. The same chronicler notes, under the events of 1776 A. C. from an old *Fihrist* of the **Navsari Dar-i-Mihr**, that the **Atash Behram** then but recently consecrated at that town, had to be carried off one night to **Surat** and installed temporarily in **Dadabhai Manekji Sheth's Haveli** on account of a great **Mahratta** incursion or raid (داده‌بای مانک‌جی شت) in **Navsari** itself. " Lastly, we learn from an entry in a **Miscellaneous Note-book** of the late **Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana's**, that in **Samvat 1859 (A.C. 1803)**, the **Navsari fire** had to seek an asylum once more in **Surat** on account of some invasion or inroad, and to be kept some where in the suburb of **Rustampura**. "

26 **Dastur Jamaspji Sohrabji Mehrji Rana's** Manuscript Genealogies of all the **Athornans** in **India** and a **Sanjana Fihrist (MS.)** kindly procured for me by **Mr. J. D. Bharda B. A.**

27 *Parsi Prakash*, 0,33.

28 *Parsi Prakash*, 53-4, Note.

29 **Navsari Dastur Meherji Rana's Library, MS. F 53.**

Now, 1733, 1776 and 1803 A. C. were all years of confusion and disturbance in Gujrat. Pilaji Gaikwad was assassinated in the year 1732 A. C. at the instigation of the viceroy Abheysingh³⁰ and Umabai Dabhade and Damaji Gaikwad, determined to take vengeance, overran the province in the usual Mahratta fashion. 1776 A. C. fell in the First Mahratta war, and 1803 A. C. in the second great contest of the same name. If we once suppose then that the Sanjan Fire temple had, for some reason, to be temporarily removed to Thana in 1419 A. C., we are at once led to inquire if there was at the time in the political condition of that part of the Northern Concan anything corresponding to the Gujrat disturbances of 1733, 1776 and 1803.

The Musulman chronicles of the Gujrat and Bahmani dynasties fail to give a satisfactory answer, but some light is forthcoming, though not of the very *clear* or quite *trustworthy* sort from the legendary annals of certain Hindu Castes which, though they received scant notice in the last century from Mr. Nairne,³¹ Dr. Gerson Da Cunha³² and Sir James Campbell³³ have been recently taken more seriously by Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Jackson.

It is not necessary for our purpose to dwell at any length on these local legends which are *very conflicting and hopelessly defective in chronological accuracy*. I shall therefore give the substance only, to enable you to form your own estimate of their worth.

In a Mahratti chronicle called the *Bimbākhyān* and elsewhere we are told that a Bimbakra or Bhimdeo established himself as ruler of the North Concan and made the island of Mahim near Bombay his capital about Shaka 1216 (1294 A. C.) One account makes this Bimbakra a son of Ramdeo Yadava of Deogiri, another a Solanki prince from Anahilvada, and the Palshikar Brahmans and others aver that they came over with him from Paithan on the Godavary. But this is not all. "Kanoj, Gorakhpur, Udaipur, Anahilvada, Champaner and Paithana are each mentioned as his place of origin, and by their very number lead one to infer that the traditionary tale of his coming has been much embroidered."³⁴ This Bhimdeo is said to have lived upto Shaka 1225 (1303 A. C.) and to have been succeeded by his

30. Grant Duff, History of the Marathas, I, 437.

31. History of the Konkan, 27.

32. Origin of Bombay, B. B. R. A. S. Journal, 1900 (Extra Number), 34-7.

33. Bombay Gazetteer, XIII, Pt. I, 62-63.

34. Edwardes, Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, II, 15.

son Pratapbimb or Pratapshah to whom moreover is credited the erection of another Capital city named Pratappur (Pardapur) at Marol in Salsette. Pratapshah, the son, is alleged to have been, after a reign of 28 years, defeated and slain in 1331 A. C. by his brother-in-law, Nagardeo of Chaul, who is declared in his turn to have succumbed in 1348 A. C. to Malik Niku, a Musulman invader from Vadnagar in Gujerat. *Very little indeed is known of the history of the North Concan* "upto the establishment," I am quoting from Mr. Edwardes, "of the beneficent authority of the Gujrat Sultans. x x x" *"During the reign of Sultan Ahmed of Gujerat, Malik-us- Sharq, a Gujerat noble of renown was posted for some years at Mahim and, in addition to instituting a proper survey of the land, did a great deal towards the improvement of the revenue system. About the same date occurred the great rebellion of the Bhongles, the descendants of Bhim-raja's Bhandari Sardars, who were men of considerable importance and wealth. According to one account, the Bhongles excited disaffection among the subjects of the Ahmedabad monarch, and having thereby seized the island of Mahim and its dependencies successfully held them for eight years against Sultan Ahmed Shah. Others opine that the rule of the Bhongles was of a longer period, but whatever the duration of their supremacy may have been, it is tolerably certain that the nature of their public actions could not have conduced to a very firm establishment thereof. According to the Bimbákhyan, these Sirdars could not command the allegiance of a discontented people among whom the rule of the Bhongles was synonymous with everything false, disorderly and corrupt in the administration of a Country."*³⁵

But these traditions have not been permitted to stand alone. It has been attempted to bolster them up by "*three Persian documents*" which have been supposed to throw valuable light not only on the history of the Island of Bombay, but extolled for providing the true solution of the Sanjan question.³⁶

These papers were printed for the first time in Mr Narayan Vithal Vaidya's Mahratti history of "*Deshastha Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmans*" (1884) and were referred to by Mr. Edwardes in the "*Rise of Bombay*" (1900), but having subsequently, in close examination with Mr. A. M. T. Jackson, seen reasons to regard them as *spurious*, no notice was taken of them in the later "*Gazetteer of the*

35. Edwardes, Rise of Bombay, 24-5.

36. Times of India, 19-11-1912, Jame Jamshed, 23-4-1913.

"City of Bombay," except in the following candid and cautionary footnote. "Three Persian documents printed in Vaidya's *Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmana* are quoted in Edwardes' *Rise of Bombay*, pp. 25-6, as further proof of Bimb's ascendancy. But of these two bear seals showing that they are copies made in A. H. 1124, while the third bears date A. H. 819, A. D. 1416, in the first year of the Bedar Sultan Alauddin Ghazi, whereas the Deccanis did not occupy Mahim till A. D. 1429,"³⁷

But there are *stronger and much more conclusive reasons* for looking with suspicion upon these papers. The first paper is said to be a Firman or Persian Sanad reissued during the Musulman regime of a *Danpatra* given by Bimbraje to Purushottam Kavle, वरील दानपत्रावरून मुसलमानी राज्यांत नविन करून दिलेल्या करमानाची नकळ.³⁸ The Musulman sovereign who is said to have issued it is not even named, nor is the year of reissue mentioned, and these defects are by themselves sufficient to condemn the paper. But letting that alone, we find that in the very first line, the date of Bimbraje's "*Danpatra*" is said to have been "28th Zilhajjah, 708 Fasli, 1221 Hindi (Shaka)." Now it is common knowledge that this Deccan Fasli year which is a modification of the Hijri reckoning was first introduced into these parts only in the time of Shah Jehan about 1637 A. C.³⁹ How then is it possible to look with anything but distrust on a paper in which it is expressly mentioned, although it claims to have been executed in the North Concan so early as 1299 A. C. and that also at a time when the Mahomedans had scarcely a footing in the district? Moreover, Raja Bimb is said in this paper to have purchased the Sirdesai and Sirdeshpandye Watan of certain villages from Chagunabai widow of Govind Mitkar for the sum of 24000 *Riyals*. (ریال). Now Riyals are coins of Spanish or Portuguese origin which were no doubt current during the Sixteenth and later centuries in these parts, but it is impossible to understand how they could have formed the *general Measure of value* anywhere in India before the beginning of the Sixteenth century. This statement about the 24000 Riyals given as purchase money recurs in the other two Persian papers also.⁴⁰ It is true that in the Mahratti versions, the word *Hone* is substituted by

37 Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island II, 17, Note:

38 Vaidya, *Shukla Yajurvedi Brahmana*, Appendix, p. 1

39 Grant Duff, *History of Mahrattas*, I 106; Cowasji Patell's *Chronology*, 52.

40 Vaidya, Appendix, 23, 38.

the translator, and in one case the word *Riyál* is inserted side by side with *Hone* in brackets,⁴¹ but that cannot save the Persian originals, every one of which is branded with suspicion by this circumstance, in as much as they bear the dates 1299 A. C. (1221 Shaka), 1414 A. C. (817 A. H.) and 1496 A. C. (901 A. H.),⁴² all dates anterior to the year of the first advent of the Portuguese in India (1498).

The second paper is dated 817 A. H. (1414 A. C.) and is stamped with the seals of four officials in which the words *الدين نازي* "First year of the reign of Sultan Alauddin Ghazi,"⁴³ stare every one who can read Persian in the face. Now this Alaiddir Bahmani [the Second] came to the throne only in 838 A. H. (1435 A. C.) according to Ferishta.⁴⁴ And it is not Ferishta alone who says so. The *Burhan-i-Massir*, another excellent chronicle of the dynasty (written 1604-1608 A. C.) which often differs from Ferishta is in complete accord with him on this point. "The *Tabakat-i-Akbar* also has the identical year for the accession."⁴⁵ But this is not all. The numismatic evidence, which in all cases of doubt is invaluable tells exactly the same tale. Not a coin has been ever found of Alaiddin Shah II of an earlier date than 838 A. H. (1435 A. C.) or of a later date than 865 A. H. (1461 A. C.)⁴⁶ This discrepancy in matter of the greatest importance is absolutely fatal to the paper and it is therefore scarcely necessary to refer to another proof of spuriousness, the use, namely, of the word "Rupee" *روپے*, of which Abul Fazl explicitly says that "it was first introduced in the time of Sher Khan" (1540-5 A. C.)

The third paper (dated 901 A. H. 1496 A. C.) contains, among other things, some precious specimens of historical truth. The original passage is such a jumble of fact and fiction, that it is scarcely worth while to give an exact translation, but the substance is briefly this. In the year 1208 Shaka (1286 A. C.), Suryvansh Ramdeo Rana of Devgiri and his son Bimb went to visit Sultan Alaiddin Badshah in the city of *Bidar*. Alaiddin bestowed on

41 Ibid 4.

42 Ibid 21, 24, 38. In the translations, the date is said to be 1416 A. C., but this is an error.

43 Briggs, II, 417, 421 Ferishta, Lucknow edition. I. 328.

44 King, Indian Antiquary, XXVIII 235.

45 Lucknow edition. 417-8.

46 Gibbs, Numismatic Chronicle, 1881, Pt. III 91. Codrington, Ibid. 1898, Pt. II, 26. Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi, 301. H. Nelson Wright, Catalogue of the Indian Museum, II 201. 47, Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, S. V. Abul Fazl, *Ain-i-Akbari*, Blochmann's tr. I 31.

Bimb, the title of Bimbshah and called him "Son." Next year, however the Sultan was offended by something that they had done, took back Deogiri, and Ramdeo was put to death in Shaka 1210 (1288 A. C.). Now, there are in this paper at least three blunders so gross about *well known facts* as to make it all but worthless as an authority for statements about matters *unknown*. If this Ramdeo was the Yadava ruler of Deogiri and this Alauddin was the Khilji Sultan of Delhi, (as every body admits,) how could the father and son have gone to Alauddin's Court, in 1286 A. C., *nine years before* the date of his accession (1295 A. C.)? Then again, Deogiri is said to have been taken next year, that is, *eight years before* Alauddin became Sultan. Lastly, Ramdeo is said to have been put to death in 1210 Shaka (1288 A. C.), although all the Musulman historians explicitly declare that he was alive in 1309 A. C.⁴⁸ (709-10 A. H.)

The only conclusion is that these papers are not genuine, and everything points to their having *been manufactured in their present form at least*, at some time in the seventeenth or eighteenth century, most probably about 1124 A. H. (1706 A. C.) the Date stamped on the seal of the Kazi Mahammad Kasim who is stated to have certified them.

Those of you, gentlemen, who are acquainted with the recent literature of the Sanjan question cannot be ignorant that two out of these "original Persian documents" have been repeatedly cited and their importance and significance for Parsi history magnified by Mr. R. P. Kakaria. As some persons may find it difficult to believe how Mr. Kakaria who is never weary of extolling his own critical sagacity and turning up his nose at the credulity and unreasoning faith of others could have swallowed these spurious writings, I will quote his own words.

"All inquirers have assumed that the Sanjan Raja was under the Hindoo ruler of Gujerat who had his capital at Patan, north of Ahmedabad. But Sanjan was then under the Hindu kingdom of Deogiri in the Deccan, and it is to the annals of the Hindu and then Mahomedan Kings of the Deccan that we must look for some new light on the episode of the *Kisseh* about the destruction of that town." x x x According to *some original Persian documents* dating from the fifteenth century printed some years ago, this Bhimraja, on learning

⁴⁸ Barni, *Tārkh-i-Firoz Shāhi*, Elliot and Dowson, III, 203, Amir Khusru, *Tārkh-i-Aldi*. Ibid, 87. Ferishta. Briggs, I, 371.

that his father Ramdeo was attacked by Alauddin Khilji in his capital of Deogiri, the modern Daulatabad, proceeded southward from his state of Oodeypore or Udwarda and took possession of the narrow strip of north Concan along the coast as far south as Bassein, Salsette and Bombay. In one of these documents, dated 1496, that is already during the reign of Begada, it is explicitly stated that Bhim took Sanjan and built fortification walls, leaving there a garrison. * * * * As said above, we must look to Deccan history for a likely answer. Among the documents already alluded to there is one dated 1416 from which it appears that the North Concan in which Sanjan lies was subject to the Bahmani Kings of the Deccan in those days, and people carried their disputes to Bidur, the capital of these kings to be finally adjudicated." 49

It is not at all difficult to see how explicitly and directly Mr. Kakaria has relied upon these papers, nor to estimate the real value of the light thrown by their means on the Sanjan question. It is plain that they are the very props and pillars of his Bahmani theory and it is on their strength that we have been asked to reject Bahman Kaikobad's narrative of the Sack, and to pin our faith to a conjecture about Mahammad Shah Bahmani having exterminated the Parsi colony because, forsooth, *he is said to have once marched towards Navsari*, fifty miles north of Sanjan, and to have "found the country abounding in game."!! 49

It is not without reluctance that I have entered into this discussion, but every historical inquirer has a duty to perform and it is incumbent upon him to sound the note of warning to fellow students, especially in a case like this, where six years after Mr. Edwardes (who was the first to refer to them), had *publicly* declared these papers to be sophisticated, they have *once and again* been held up as incontrovertible proofs of a fanciful conjecture about one of the most interesting events in the history of our people in this country.

The name of Mr. S. M. Edwardes has been so often mentioned by me in this paper, that it is necessary to make public the following letter if only in justice to that gentleman.

Bombay, 15th November 1913.

DEAR PROFESSOR HODIVALA,

In reference to our conversation yesterday, I think it only right to say that the three documents which I quoted in my "Rise of

Bombay" in 1901 as further proof of the ascendancy of Raja Bimb were taken direct from Vaidya's work. When six years later, I was engaged in compiling the Bombay City Gazetteer, I asked the late Mr. A. M. T. Jackson to write the Hindu period of the island's history, and in connection with his note on the subject, we together discussed, among other things, the authenticity and credibility of these three Persian documents. *Mr. Jackson was definitely of opinion that the three documents were not reliable*, and that they might have been *manufactured* at a later date than that at which they purport to have been drawn up. After hearing all he had to say—and he was a critical scholar—I came to the conclusion that he was right and that *these Persian documents are not historical*. In consequence, no mention was made of them in the Gazetteer and Mr. Jackson, moreover, inserted the footnote at page 17 of the second volume of the City Gazetteer, which gives some of the reasons for rejecting their authenticity. As you rightly point out, the use of the word "Riyals" is another reason for *suspecting their doubtful origin* and for the reasons given both by Mr. Jackson in 1906 and by yourself in our conversation yesterday, I *feel convinced that they cannot be relied upon and that they are not authentic*.

The History Chapter of the Bombay City Gazetteer gives briefly all that we definitely know of Raja Bimb and the people of his age and a good deal of our account of him is purely traditional. But though definite proof is lacking, I feel certain that Raja Bimb did rule over Mahim and that at a later date the Bhongles headed a revolt against his successors.

Yours Sincerely,

S. M. EDWARDES

These papers disposed of, let us now turn once more to the traditional statements themselves and consider them on their own merits without being prejudiced against them by any unwise attempt to prop them up by "original Persian documents" so-called, of the thirteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It is not necessary for our purpose to enter into a detailed examination of the legends about Bimb Raja, concerning which all sorts

of opinions have been held.⁵⁰ The least unfavourable is that of the most recent investigators, Mr. Edwardes and Mr. Jackson. "Yet with all this conflict of testimony," we read in the *Gazetteer of the City of Bombay*, "one must in the end accept the fact that a king named Bimb ruled in Salsette about A. D. 1800, that he made Mahim in Bombay his capital and granted various offices and rent-free lands to his followers."⁵¹ As for the point of greatest interest to us today, *the disturbed condition of the Northern Concan about 1419 A. C.*, Mr. Edwardes is confident that "some revolt against Mahomedan rule in which the Bhandaris played a leading part about the end of the fourteenth century resulted in the temporary eclipse of the overlordship of the Ahmedabad Sultans."

The traditional accounts of the Bhongle revolt *may or not be in exact accordance with fact*. Some say that it took place in 1356 A. C.⁵² Others place it at a later period, sometime, that is, after 1411 A. C., the date of the accession of Sultan Ahmedshah of Gujarat against whom they believe it to have been raised. Some declare that it lasted for eight years, others that it was of longer duration.⁵³ Some are positive that it was the work of Nathrao Bhongle, others believe some of *his descendants* to have been the leaders.⁵⁴ But the tales of their "false, disorderly and corrupt" administration and all the other incidental references, pointing to a *period of general disorder and misgovernment* due to the absence of a central authority. There is therefore, nothing improbable in the supposition that when *the district around Sanjan was a prey to the conflicting claims of two rival Musulman powers and the local Hindu chieftains*,⁵⁵ the Parsi priests were compelled by the actual or apprehended violence of some local tyrant or powerful invader, to fly with their most precious posse-

50 Nairne, (Konkan, 27) says, "it seems scarcely worth while to try to connect these legends with real history, when there is nothing to enable us to advance beyond the region of conjecture." Sir J. Campbell (*Bombay Gazetteer*, XIII, Pt i, 62) thinks "the correctness of the story is doubtful" and calls Bhim "the legendary King of Mahim" (XIV, 344). Dr. Gerson da Cunha (*Origin of Bombay*, 34) opines that "with two exceptions, there is little that is worth recording about him" [Bimb] and that "the Hindu period of the history of Bombay is thoroughly confused in names, dates and facts," (ib, 35).

51 *Gazetteer of the City of Bombay*, II, 20.

52 S. M. Nayak, *History of the Parbhus*, 61.

53 Edwardes, *Rise of Bombay*, 24-5, *Gazetteer*, II, 20.

54 *Ibid*.

55 A land-grant stone dated Shaka 1354 (1432 A. C.) of a Hindu chief with a Devanagari inscription has been found in *Sanjan itself*. *Bombay Gazetteer*, XIV, 303; XIII. ii. 441 note. Another dated Shaka 1273, (1351 A. C.) has been found at Sonavli, ib. 314.

ssion, the Fire of Bahram, from the unfortified township of Sanjan to the stronghold of Thana, defensible as it was both by sea and land.

And here I may be permitted to invite your attention to a passage in the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, which has always struck me as enigmatical, and of which no one so far as I know, has yet perceived *the historical significance*. I venture to think, however, that in the light of the above explanation, it can be used to elucidate and be itself elucidated by this most interesting memorandum. After relating that the refugees from Diu stayed 300 years in Sanjan and continued for another 200 years to spread into the various Gujarat towns, (Navsari, Broach, Cambay, Anklesar, Variav and Vankaner), Bahman Kaikobad says.

در آن ایام اندر شهر سخان — زدستوران بمانده خانه چندان
 ابرایشان یکی حکم قفاشد — ندانم آنهم دستور کجاشد
 یکی دستور بوده د نکوی — جوان و وه منشی و چربگوی
 مرآن دستور خوشمست بود ناهش — که همواره بخوبی بود گامش
 پسر کورا خجسته نام بوده — ورا در باج و برصم کام بوده
 چون چندین سالین بروی گذشتم — برو کی آسمان زینگونه گشتم ۵۶

“In those days, the decree of fate fell upon the families of the Dasturs who abode in the town of Sanjan : I do not know what became of those Dasturs [or where they went]. There was a Dastur then, virtuous, of good intentions and eloquent; the name of that Dastur was Khushmast and his steps were always in the ways of goodness. His son's name was Khujastah and he delighted in performing the Baj and Barsam ceremonies. x x x When some years had passed over him, the heavens became untoward in this manner.” (Mahmud Begada heard of the Raja of Sanjan &c.).

What then was this “decree of fate,” this حکم نضا which befell the Dasturs of Sanjan a few years before the reign of Mahmud Begada (1459-1511 A. C.)? May it not be that this calamity of which Bahman speaks so darkly and of the nature of which he candidly confesses his ignorance, was connected in some way with this event, this very migration of the sacred-fire to Thana of which not only the Parsi date but the Hindu Tithi, unlike that of any other event save one in our early history, has been carefully recorded and preserved? It goes without saying that the event itself of which the date was so

meticulously noted down, must have been an important and memorable one, though the actual circumstances have been blotted out of the popular memory. All the same, Bahman's expressions show that there was a faint but distinct recollection in his day of some great calamity in which the priestly families who were the guardians of the Iranshah had been especially involved. The blow had fallen most heavily upon the sacerdotal order and the memorandum before us points in the same direction, in as much as it records the date on which they were obliged to fly for their lives with their sacred charge to Thana.

We may take it then that *disorder and misgovernment, if not actual anarchy prevailed in the North Concan during some years immediately preceding the permanent establishment of the supremacy of the Gujarat Sultans in the district.* Fortunately, it is possible to predicate the exact date of that event from the Musulman historians. We have the explicit declaration of the *Tabakāt-i-Akbārī*, that after a good deal of fighting near Thana and Mahim between the Gujaratis and the Bahmanis, the entire district was incorporated into his dominions by Sultan Ahmed Shah I of Gujarat, (the grandfather of the Begada) in 1430-1431 A. C.⁵⁷ A study of the original authorities shows that between the decline of the Tughlak power in the last decade of the fourteenth Century and the establishment of the Gujarat overlordship, *the North Concan became a happy hunting-ground for the old Hindu Nayaks and chieftains who attempted to reassert their hereditary sway over these parts.*⁵⁸ These last acknowledged or repudiated, according to circumstances, the overlordship of the Gujarat or Bahmani rulers who were each struggling for the sole dominion in the district and between whom the Northern Concan was torn by internecine conflict until the question was finally settled by the repeated defeats of the Bahmani forces both by sea and land in 1430-31.

57 Lucknow edition, 459. Bayley, Gujarat, 116-8. Briggs, Ferishta, IV, 28-30. Text, Lucknow edition, II, 188.

58 There was a Hindu Rai in Mahim whose daughter was married to Fatah Khan, son of Sultan Ahmed Shah, about 1432 A. C. (Bayley, Gujarat, 116 note, 120 ; *Tabakāt-i-Akbārī*, Lucknow edition, 460. See also Briggs, IV, 28 Ferishta, and Lucknow Text, I, 327, where there is an explicit reference to numerous *Hindu Rajas* having become masters of the Northern Konkan.

Permit me now to sum up the results, *such as they are*, for want of more satisfactory evidence, of this inquiry.

First then, it is practically certain that Roz 29, Mah 6, Ashad Shud 5, Wednesday 1475 Vikram Samvat is not the date of the installation of the Sanjan fire at Navsari, but of *some other event*. Secondly, if the Sanjan fire was still at Sanjan in 1475 Samvat (1419 A. C.), it necessarily follows that the Parsi colony had not been sacked, nor the inhabitants "killed, enslaved and driven into the hills" by Alauddin Khilji's viceroy Alafkhan or Ulugh Khan.

Thirdly, if this entry can be traced to a statement in the handwriting of Dastur Hamjiar Ram, a grandson of Chhayar Sahiyar himself, we have in it a remarkable confirmation by an almost contemporary witness of that part of Bahman's account which relates to the Bansdah episode.

Let me also mention some other *probable or conjectural conclusions* which I regard as *interesting speculations*, but which I shall hold myself in readiness to modify or reject altogether for any good reasons that may be forthcoming. They are,

1. That the sacred fire had, for some reason, to be removed to Thana during the Paitishahm Gahambar of Vikram Samvat 1475. (Roz 29-6, Ashad Shud 5, Wednesday), and that the flight was probably due to some invasion or raid or act of violence.

2. That the Northern Konkan in which Sanjan is situated was, during the forty years which intervened between the decline of the Tughlak power (*Circa* 1390 A. C.) and the conquest of Thana and Mahim by Ahmed Shah Gujarati in 1430-31 A. C., a prey to anarchy and disorder on account of the rival claims of the Bahmanis and the Gujaratis; and that advantage was taken of this state of things by the local Hindu Chieftains among whom the so-called Bhongle Sardars who are said by tradition to have raised a revolt against the Musulmans may perhaps be included.

3. That while the district of Sanjan was in this unsettled state, the Parsi priests, who were neither Hindus nor Mahomedans and had reason to apprehend the hostility of both the warring factions, were overtaken by some great disaster which seemed to them like a "decree of fate" and that this calamity, in which many Parsi priests perished in some manner unknown, was perhaps identical with the flight to Thana of which the date is here recorded.

THE SACK OF SANJAN.

(A paper read before the Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Research on 11th October, 1913.)

THE Sack of Sanjan may with truth be called the standing puzzle of Parsi History. The poetical account of Bahman Kaikobad Sanjana is well-known to the general reader, has been frequently the theme of animated discussion in our periodical literature, and European as well as Parsi scholars have during the last eighty years been strenuously endeavouring to find some extraneous confirmation of Bahman's narrative. So early as 1831, Dastur Framji Aspandiarji Rabadi¹ offered the suggestion that the Parsi colony of Sanjan must have been exterminated about the year 1507, A. C., in which Mahmūd Begada is said by his historians to have led his forces against the Portuguese and to have halted at Damaun on his way to Bassein and Mahim.² Thirteen years later, Dr. John Wilson lent the weight of his name to an exactly similar supposition in a note appended to Eastwick's English translation of the *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*³ and Mr. Dosabhai Framji submissively followed the Doctor in his History of the Parsis⁴. The first note of dissent was not sounded until twenty years later, when Mr. Bahmanji Behramji Patell pointed out that Alfkhan, the general of Mahmūd who must, according to the supposition of the Doctor and the Dastur, have sacked Sanjan about 1507 A. C. was stated by the Musulman annalists of the reign to have rebelled against his master in 1494 A. C., and died in 1496 A. C. At the same time, Mr. Bahmanji declared that

1. *Hādīsānāmāh*, 122, 199 notes.

2. *Mirdt-i-Sikandari*, Litho. Text (Bombay, 1831), 126. Fazlullāh Lutfullāh's Trans: 75: *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, (Lucknow Text.), II. 204.

3. B. B. R. A. S. Journal, I. 182, note.

4. History of the Parsis, First Edition, (1858), 16.

all other attempts to trace any reference to the invasion of Sanjan by the Begada's battalions in the Moslem chronicles had been hitherto attended with no success, though of course, it was possible that a minor expedition against a small township under one of the Sultan's lieutenants might not have been thought worthy of notice by his historians. He concluded with the pronouncement that "looking to the surrounding circumstances"—a conveniently vague phrase which might mean anything and everything and also nothing at all—the destruction of the town must have taken place within the first ten years of Mahmūd's accession, *i. e.*, between 1459 and 1469 A. C.⁵ Dissatisfied with all this guess-work, the compiler of the Bombay Gazetteer went off at a tangent in another direction altogether and opined that the Mahmūd Shah of the *Kissh* was not Mahmūd Begada at all, because, in the first place, "all authorities were agreed" that after long wanderings, the Sanjan fire was brought to Navsari early in the fifteenth century (1419)," and because, in the second, "the completeness of Alp Khan's conquest of Gujarat left little doubt that Sanjan fell to his arms."⁷ Sir James Campbell's high authority and the official imprimatur have contributed not a little to secure for this view a few adherents among our own people and Mr. Dosabhai Framji,⁸ Mr. Pallonji B. Desai⁹ and some others also for whom the reversal of popular verdicts possesses a strange sort of attraction have followed his lead.

5. *Pārsi Prakāśh*, 5 note.

6. There is no such agreement. On the contrary, almost all Parsi writers now recognise the impossibility of reconciling the date with well-ascertained historical facts. *Pārsi Prakāśh*, 5, note: J. J. Mody, A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, 53-61.

7. Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. Part i. 250. note. The conquest was so far from being complete that the Konkan is not so much as mentioned in any of the Musulman histories of the period. I hope to examine the whole question and the *unwarrantable assumptions* on which this opinion is based in another paper.

8. History of the Parsis, (Second Edition), I. 43.

9. *Tārikh-i-Shāhān-i-Iran*. II. 394-399.

It is easy to see that the problem that we have to solve is merely this: To find in the authentic annals of the Gujarat dynasty some mention of an invasion of the district of Sanjan or some place or places in its immediate vicinity by the armies of Mahmud Begada and under a commander named Alf or Ulugh Khan; or, failing an express reference to Alf Khan or Ulugh Khan as general, some proofs of a person so called having occupied a position of trust and importance in the reign of that Sultan. We have seen the solution put forward with no little hesitation by Dastur Framji Rabadi and Dr. Wilson. We have also noticed that the Compiler of the Gazetteer finding an Ulugh Khan and an Alf Khan mentioned, the one as conqueror, (1295-1297 A. C.) and the other as viceroy (1300-1315 A. C.) of Gujarat under Alauddin Khilji, cut the knot by supposing that Bahman, while correctly informed as to the name of the *lieutenant* was mistaken about the personality of the *sovereign*, and muddled up two names so easily distinguishable, at least by a Persian scholar, as Alauddin *Mahammad* Khilji and Násiruddin *Mahmūd* Begada.¹⁰

In 1905, Mr. (now Dr.) Jivanji J. Mody appeared upon the scene, and examined the question in an elaborate paper in which he pointed out that an Alf Khan was governor of Morasa under Mahmud, that he rebelled against his sovereign in 1494 A. C., was pardoned and again taken into favour, but consigned soon afterwards for a wanton murder to prison, where he died either in the course of nature or by poison in 1496 A. C. (901 A. H.). We have seen that Mr. Bahmanji Patell had shown long before that Alf Khan was a distinguished officer of Mahmud's and had made his rebellion the basis of an argument against the *Hadisanamah* suggestion. The new thing in Ervad Jivanji's paper was the attempt to put forward the date 1490 A. C. for the Sack, and suppose it to have been the work of an army sent in 895 A. H. (1490 A. C.) by Sultan "Mahmud against Dabhol near Ratnagiri, where Bahadur Gilani was carrying on piracy."¹¹

In support of this conjecture, Ervad Jivanji quoted the following two sentences from the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*.

"When the land army reached Agahi (Agasi) and Basai (Bassein) on the borders of Gujarat and the Dakhin, the regents for Sultan

10. European scholars unacquainted with Persian often mix up *Mahammad* and *Mahmūd*, two names really so different that a writer like Bahman would be as far from confounding the one with the other as an Englishman from jumbling up *John* and *James*.

11. A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, 42-3.

Mahmud Bahmani reflected, that Sultan Mahmud Gujarati had been a patron to their Kings. + + + A letter was sent to Sultan Mahmud Gujarati, stating that the armies of the Dakhin were his faithful friends but they required that he would give orders that his army should stop where it was, as the punishment of Bahadur appertained to them.”¹²

To the above, the Shams-ul-Ulama appended the following comments of his own.

“We see then that in about 1490 A. D., Sultan Mahmud’s army had come up to Bassein. So it appears that it was at this time, i. e., 1490 A. D. that Alaf Khan, one of Sultan Mahmud’s officers, may have attacked Sanjan which was on the way of the march of his army to Bassein.”¹³

I am afraid that Ervad Jivanji has, by laying undue stress upon the inadequate account of the transaction in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* “shunted the car of inquiry on to the wrong line.” Indeed, that account is so very meagre and unsatisfactory as to have constrained Sir E. C. Bayley, its translator, to declare in a note that “it slurs over the disagreeable part of the narrative.”¹⁴ But taking both the sentences relied upon by Ervad Jivanji, and interpreting them *most favourably*, it is impossible not to perceive that *not a word is said* therein about any conquests made by the land army or of any military operations undertaken by it. All that is implied is that it reached Agahi and Bassein and *did not advance further*, because the Bahmani ministers, understanding the gravity of the situation, determined to be beforehand with Mahmud and took prompt measures to quell the disturbance themselves, lest the powerful Gujarat monarch should make it a pretext for armed interference and invasion of their territory. But let us see now if the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* itself can tell us anything more about the incident. Here are some important lines not quoted by Ervad Jivanji.

“The Sultan was enraged at hearing of these proceedings. [Bahadur Gilani’s piratical attacks on the ports of Gujarat]. He sent

12. A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, 42-3.

13. Ibid, 43.

14. Bayley, History of Gujarat, 219, note. He has consequently thought it his duty to supplement it from other sources.

Malik Sarang Kivam-ul-Mulk with a large army and fighting elephants against Dabhol by land, and by sea he sent three hundred ships filled with armed men and furnished with guns and muskets. + + +. In the end, the whole army of the Dakhin marched against Bahadur. He offered battle, was defeated, taken alive, and his head was cut off and sent to Sultan Mahmud Bahmani, who apprised Mahmud Gujarati of the fact and that King withdrew his army."¹⁵

You will note that his own authority, the *Mirat*, explicitly declares the leader of the *land army* to have been not the *Turk Alf Khan*¹⁶ but Malik Sarang Kivam-ul-Mulk, of whom the *Mirat* tells us in another place that he was a converted *Rajput* slave who rose to high office under Sultan Mahmud and founded the suburb of Sarangpur which still exists near Ahmedabad.¹⁷

So far as to the "*Sikandari*". Let us go farther afield and examine the fuller narratives of the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* and the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, in each of which works there are two accounts of the affair, one in the section devoted by each to the Bahmanis,¹⁸ and the other set apart for the chronicle of the Gujarat Sultanate.¹⁹ It is not at all necessary to reproduce the tedious details of the operations against Bahadur and I will quote here only the shorter of the two accounts in *Ferishta* and supplement it with the accurate and impartial summary of the events prepared by Sir Edward C. Bayley from these two authorities.

"In the year 900 H, one Bahadur Geelany, an officer of the Deccany Government, having revolted from his master, collected a force consisting of from ten to twelve thousand men, and also a fleet with which he not only seized on the ports of Goa and Dabul, but went so far as to lay hands on some Guzerat vessels trading along the coast. He afterwards landed, and took possession of the island of Mahim giving up the town to plunder. On information of this

15 Bayley's Translation, History of Gujarat, 219. For the original Persian, See *Mirat*, Bombay Litho. Text (1831), 124.

16 His father Alauddin Sohrab is called a Turk by *Ferishta*, (Lucknow Text), II. 191 ; Briggs. IV. 37.

17 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Text, 143, Bayley, Gujarat, 238.

18 *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Lucknow Text, I, 368-71, Briggs, II, 539-544. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Lucknow Text, 432-436.

19 *Ferishta*, Text, II, 203. Briggs, IV, 71-2. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, Ib. 478-9.

event the admiral *Safdar-ul-Moolk* was sent to Mahim by sea and *Kowam-ul-Moolk* marched with a force by land. The fleet experienced a heavy gale off the port, in which most of the vessels were stranded: on which occasion the enemy came down to the beach and massacred the crews as they were washed ashore. The admiral himself was taken prisoner, and all the fleet fell into the enemy's hands. Kowam-ul-Moolk hearing of this disaster, on his arrival near Mahim, sent a messenger to the King and halted till further orders. Mahmood Shah now deputed an envoy to the King of the Deccan complaining of the outrage committed by Bahadur Geelany, and that monarch, marching against the rebel, (notwithstanding a disaffection of the nobles of his Court), seized his person and caused him to be executed: and Sufdur-ul-Moolk, the Guzerat admiral, was released from prison and the fleet of the late Bahadur Geelany which fell into the hands of the King of the Deccan was delivered over to the admiral's charge." (Briggs, *Ferishta*, IV, 71-2).

Sir Edward Bayley writes:

"The *Tabakât* places the Gujarat expedition against him [Bahadur] in 895 [A. H.] which seems to agree with the facts stated in the context, but while the author of the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* slurs over the disagreeable part of the narrative, it is given both by Ferishtah and the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* at full length. Practically they both concur in saying that there were two expeditions from Gujarat; the first under Kamal Khan and Safdar Khan according to the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*; under Safdar Khan alone according to Ferishtah; the other under Kiwam-ul-Mulk. According to the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* the fleet was under Safdar-ul-Mulk and was wrecked. Kamal Khan whose force was small was amused by Bahadur Gilani with offers of submission and then suddenly attacked, and after a very bloody battle defeated, both leaders being wounded and taken prisoners. According to the account of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, (which seems the most probable story), Kiwam-ul-Mulk's army was not sent off till the news of this defeat reached Mahmud Bigarha. What passed then is not quite clear, though apparently Kiwam-ul-Mulk considered it inexpedient to attack without aid from the Dakhin. On this Mahmud sent an ambassador to the Bahmani Court, and on receiving the formal complaint of the Gujarat king, the Bahmani Government was roused to vigorous action, which seems to have been necessary, as Bahadur aspired to independent sovereignty. The result was a long campaign or series of campaigns, related at great

length by Ferishtah and also by the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, which resulted in the death of Bahadur and the release of Safdar-ul-Mulk, to whom according to Ferishtah, Bahadur's fleet was made over on his release." (Gujarat, 219, note).

A glance at these passages is sufficient to convince any one that on this occasion, the arms of Mahmud instead of being covered with glory or crowned with conquest were overtaken by disaster and disgrace. The fleet was wrecked, the land army was out-maneuvred and put to the rout, the admiral (and according to the *Tabakat*, the general also) ²⁰ taken prisoner and the reinforcements despatched to the front reduced to a condition of inglorious inactivity by the skilful diplomacy of the Bahmani ministers. A cursory perusal of the longer narratives in the Bahmani sections of our authorities further shows that the theatre of war on this occasion was not anywhere in the neighbourhood of Sanjan, but in the *Southern Mahratta country*, round Jamkhandi, Mirach, Kohlapore, and Panhalla (all of which are expressly named) and that *nothing of any note took place within a hundred miles of Sanjan*.²⁰

Such are the difficulties in the way of our accepting Ervad Jivanji's main proposition. There are others which are connected with its corollary, viz., the date he assigns to the arrival of the Sanjan Iranshah at Navsari. He supposes Sanjan to have been sacked in 1490 A. C., and accepting without reserve, the figures given by Bahman, he holds that after twelve years' wanderings in the Bahrot hills, and fourteen years' stay at Bansdah, the sacred fire found a home at Navsari in 1516 (1490 + 12 + 14) A. C., 885 A. Y.²¹ It is common knowledge that there are two traditional dates for this last event, 785 A. Y., 1416 A. C. and 788 A. Y., 1419 A. C. Ervad Mody proposes in the hope of deriving some support for his own *conjectural* date, to amend the former to 885 A. Y. on the *supposition* that a '7' has on account of the blundering carelessness of some copyist usurped the place of an '8'.²² Now it is admitted on all hands, and the Shams-ul-Ulama also maintains, that it was Changa Asa who took the most prominent part in inducing the Sanjanas and Bhagarias to

20 Briggs, II, 539-544. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, (Lucknow Text), 432-436. In the Bahmani chapter, Ferishta states that the general Kiwám-ul-Mulk also had been captured by Bahádu and that he was released with the admiral Safdar-ul-Mulk on Bahádu's death. Text, I, 371.

21 A Few Events, 49.

22 Ibid, 62.

compromise their differences and establish the Iranshah at Navsari.²³ The question therefore is, was Changa alive in 1516? Ervad Mody himself acknowledges that he was dead in 1520 A. C., because in a deed of gift to Rana Jaisang of Samvat 1576 (1520 A. C.), the signature of his son Manek Changa is found at the top instead of his own.²⁴ It is further certain that the first Revayet of Nariman Hoshang of 1478 A. C. was addressed to him, and his name occurs in the superscription of another letter brought by four Persian Zoroastrians in 1511 A. C.²⁵ Further we cannot go, and there is every reason to believe that *Changa was not alive in 1516 A. C.* I possess a copy of the Revayet of Behdin Jasa, of which I give below the address, *as it has not been hitherto published.*

The Navsari names which occur immediately after the usual preface are

Behdin Manek Changa, Dastur Nagoj Asdin, Dastur Jaisang Dada, Dastur Pahlan Annan, Dastur Khurshed Wacha, Dastur Chacha Wacha, Dastur Asa Dahian, Dastur Hira Dada, Dastur Asa Rustam, Dastur Bahram Rustam, Dastur Nagoj Rustam, Dastur Rana Jaisang, Dastur Wacha Jaisang, Dastur Chanda Pahlan, Dastur Mahiar Asa, Dastur Chayyan Asdin Sanjana, Dastur Dhanpal Jaisang Sanjana, Dastur Hormazyar Ram Sanjana, Dastur Bahram Khurshed Sanjana, and Behdin Kamdin Tabib (Physician), Behdin Asdin Mehervan, Behdin Dahian Rana, the nephew of Changa Shah, Behdin Asa (son of) Behram the son of Changa, Behdin Rana Jamasp, and Behdin Manek Behram.

The names of the notables of Surat, Anklesar, Broach and Cambay then follow.

The date occurs at the end where there is a long list of the Iranians who subscribed to the document.

فرچید پدرود شادی و رامشندی اندر روز دی بآدر ماه آبان سال
بر هشتصد و هشتاد و پنج یزدگرد شاهان شاه بن خسرو هرمزدان

23 *Kisseh-i-Sanjàn*, M. R. Unwalla's Litho. Text of Darab Hormazdyar's Revayet, II. 353-4.

24 A Few Events, 58.

25 *Parsi Prakash*, 6-7, and Darab Hormazdyar's Revayet, II, 379, 380, 391.

"Finished with blessings, pleasure and gladness on the day Daipadar, month Aban, 885 of the year of the Emperor Yazdagird, the son of Khusru, son of Hormazd." ²⁶

It will be seen that the name of Manek Changa, the son, *occupies here also the place of honour* instead of that of his father and that the name of Khurshed Kamdin, the Sanjana patriarch which occurs in the earlier Revayets of 1486 and 1511 A. C. ²⁷ is also *conspicuous by its absence*. This *double omission* appears to me too significant to be accidental, and can lead to but one conclusion, *viz.*, that both these worthies had been by death prevented from being the signatories of the letter to which the Revayet of Jasa was the Iranian reply, that is both of them had been gathered to their fathers a year at least before Roz Depadar Mah Aban 885 A. Y., (1516 A. C.), the date of the letter of the Persian Zoroastrians. ²⁸

Another point which goes decidedly against Ervad Jivanji's surmise deserves careful consideration. If Sanjan was not abandoned by the Parsi Colony before 1490 A. C., if it had a Zoroastrian community numbering between five and six thousand souls, (for such must have been its strength if it was able to furnish fourteen hundred *adult males* to the Raja's army) and if that community was, moreover, the custodian of the Sacred fire, it is difficult to understand why no notice whatever is taken of such an important congregation of the Faithful in the two Revayets of Nariman Hushang which are both anterior to 1490 A. C. The omission becomes almost inexplicable when it is borne in mind that the smaller colonies of Anklesar Broach and even Cambay are more than once explicitly mentioned. ²⁹

26 This manuscript contains a number of Revayets and was written by Mahrnush Kaikulad in A. Y. 1022, Roz Astad, Mah Adar (1653 A. C.), according to a colophon on Folio 208 a. The names and the date of the Revayet itself are on Folio 97 b, and 133 a. respectively.

27 *Parsi Prakash*, 6-7 : M. R. Unwalla's Litho. Text of Darab Hormazdyar's Revayet, II. 383, 391.

28 The question is *definitely settled against Ervad Mody* by the *explicit* reference to the *Navsari Atashbeheram* in Nariman Hoshang's Revayet of 1486 A. C. (855 A. Y.) ; See Darab Hormazdyar's autograph ms. of the Revayets in the Bombay University Library, Folio 176 a.

29 M. R. Unwalla's Litho. Text of Darab Hormazdyar's Revayet, II, 378-380. Hushang Ramyar of Broach and Herbad Homan of Anklesar are especially mentioned as if they were the leaders of the Parsi Communities of those towns. Surat and Cambay also are spoken of as centres of Parsi population. *Ibid.* II, 379.

The only conclusion then is that the 1490 date cannot stand and that the Parsis of Sanjan were driven from their homes and hearths some time before and not after 1478 A. C. the date of the first Revayet.

But if Ervad Jivanji's conjecture is no more tenable than others which have gone before, are we to despair of ever finding a reasonably satisfactory solution of the puzzle? By no means. I beg to offer for the candid consideration of my fellow-students a theory which first occurred to me about ten years ago in the course of my study of the Numismatic history of the Gujarat dynasty in the original authorities. Let me place the passages themselves before you.

و در سنه تسع و ستين و ثمانمائه سلطان محمود با لشكر بسيار
 بجانب قلعه باورد و بندردون كرمابين گجرات و كوهن واقع است
 روان شد و حاكم آن ولايت چند جنگ كرده هربار متهور شد و مكسور
 گرديد و از روى ناچارى امان خواست بملازمت آمد و قلع و ولايت
 تسليم سپاه اسلام نمود و قلعه با در از قلاع نادر است و در بلندى
 سر بفلك كشيده و در محكمى بامد سكندره برابرى نموده تا آن غايت
 بدست مسلمانان در نيامده بود و راى ولايت دون كرم يك هزار موضع
 در تحت اوست باستظهار آن قلعه باد غرور در كان دماغ انداخته
 حشم و ذخيره بسيار بر خود جمع آورده بود و جماعتى ديو سرت
 غول طبيعت را بر سر راهها گماشته براه زني مسافران و مترددان مشغول
 ميداشت (بيت) بعيارى چنان ره ميسپردى - كه بينى از ميان چشم بردى
 سلطان خزان و دفائن قلعه متصرف شد و در همان چند روز راى
 را بخلعت و كمر شمشير طلا سرافراز گردانيد و پمان حصار و ولايت بوى
 بخشيد و باغنائم نا مكدود با حمد اباد رفت

- تاريخ فرشته - مطبوع بمبئي - جلد دوم - ۳۸۵

و در سنه تسع و ستين و ثمانمائه سلطان محمود مذكور شد

که زمیندار باور و بندر دون جهازات را مزاحمت میرسانند چون از سلاطین گجرات هرگز گوشمال نیافتند سرکشی و تمرد عادت کرده اند سلطان محمود با وجودیکه دولتخواهان بواسطه صعوبت راه و استحکام قلعه تجویز نمیکردند عازم تسخیر آن ناحیه و گوشمال متصردان گردید و چون بهزار صعوبت و دشواری بهکوالی قلعه رسید سردار قلعه بجنگ پناه پیش آمده و ترددهای مردانه بتقدیم رسانید و چون شب در آمد حصارپناه برده تا چندروز هرروز معرکه فتال بر می آراست و حق تردد و مردانگی می نمود اتفاقاً روزی محمود شاه با حشم و لشکر باور بکوه بر آمده چون نظر مردم قلعه بر چتر شاهی افتاد و افزونی سپاه ملاحظه نمودند از راه عجز دست بدامن صلاح زدند و دو سردار قلعه بخدمت سلطان شتافتند امان طلبیدند و محمود شاه از کمال رافت قلم عفو بر جرائم آن گروه کشیده همه را امان داد چون سردار قلعه و کلاغر نواخی بخدمت آمدند چریک را خلعت و الثقات مخصوص گردانیده و سوار شده متوجر سیر قلعه گشت و چون از سیر قلعه فارغ شد سردار قلعه پیشکش بسیار گذرانید و در همان پیشکش باو بخشید خلعت و کمر زرین باو لطف فرمود سال بسال پیشکش قرار داده حراست و حکومت آن ناحیه باو تفویض فرمود و خود با کامیابی و اقبال مراجعت نموده باحمداباد قرار گرفت

طبقات اکبری مطبوع لکهنو- ۱۴۶۹

و سلطان محمود گجراتی درین سال قلعه باررد و بندر دون سوار شد و حاکم آن ولایت چند روز جنگ کرده عاجز شد و امان خواستد قلعه و بندر تسلیم نمود و سلطان محمود برو رحم کرده بار دیگر آن

ولایت را با و داد و مقدم آنجا بدانجام دست رس داشت مراسم پیشکش
بتقدیم رسانید و سلطان بگجرات معاودت فرمود

تاریخ الفی جلد آخر— از کتبخانه دستور ملا فیروز
وفی تسع وستین (و ثمانمایر) نزل السلطان علی قلعة بادر (بفتح الموحدة
وسكون الراء المهملة بین الف و دال مهملة مخمومة و او) بقلة جبل فی
حد البندر المعروف بالدمن و قتل و شن الغارة لفساد اهلها فی الارض
ولما صعد الجبل لفتحها تلقاه صاحبها بالمفتاح واستسلم فسلم
و دخل السلطان القلعة و نظر ثمر ترکمال و نزل

الغخانی — ظفر الوالیر بمظفر و آلر —
مطبع لندن — جلد اول ۱۸

و در سنه تسع وستین و ثمانمایر سلطان بطرف کوه بارودر لشکر
کشید و فتح آن قلعه نمود بدارالملک خویش باز گشت

مرآت سکندری — مطبع بمبئی
سنه ۱۸۳۱ — صفحہ ۹۳

“ In the year 869 A. H., Sultan Mahmud started with a large army in the direction of the fort of *Bāward* and the port of *Dūn* [or *Dawan*] which are situated between Gujarat and the Konkan. The ruler of that district fought many battles and having been defeated on every occasion begged for quarter out of helplessness. He then paid his respects to the Sultan and surrendered the castle and his territory to the Moslem forces. The fortress of *Bādar** is an extraordinary fort. In altitude its top reaches the skies and in strength it

* This shows that Ferishta read the name *Bādar* بادر in as much as he makes it rhyme here with *نادر* ‘extraordinary’. The *د* is easily mistaken for a *ر* in Persian manuscripts. It may be also noticed that in the Bombay and Lucknow texts, the other name is *Dūn* or *Dawan* (دون) not ‘Doora’ as in Briggs.

*rivals the wall of Alexander. It had not upto that time fallen into the hands of the Musalmans, and confident in its strength, the Rajá of the district of Dūn [Dawan], under which are a thousand villages had filled with the wind of arrogance the palace of his brain and brought together a large army and great treasures. A body of men of the nature of demons and of the temper of fiends were kept employed by him and posted on the roads for plundering travellers and way-farers. (Verse). "He entrusted the roads to rogues [so sharp] that they could carry away your nose from between your eyes." The Sultan took possession of his treasures and buried hoards and a few days afterwards honoured the king with a dress of honour and a girdle and sword of gold. He bestowed the castle and the territory also upon him and returned to Ahmedabad with an enormous booty." *Tarikh-i Ferishta*, (Bombay edition, Vol II. 385-6).*

"Two years afterwards (869), Mahmood Shah marched with a large army towards Bávur, an extraordinary hill fort considered impregnable by the inhabitants. From thence he proceeded to Doorá and Purnalla, places situated between Concan and Guzerat and defeated the infidels in several actions; and the Raja was obliged to give up his forts, and to throw himself on the mercy of the Mahomedan conqueror who after having obtained from him a large sum of money, restored his country into his hands"—Briggs' Translation of *Ferishta*, IV, 51.

"In the year 869 A. H. [A. C. 1465], it was reported to Sultan Mahmud that the *Zemindars* of Bávur and of the port of Dūn [Dawan] were interfering with the shipping. *These men had never received any chastisement from the Sultans of Gujarat* and were very turbulent and rebellious. The Sultan's well-wishers endeavoured to dissuade him from the enterprise by describing the difficulties of the road and the *strength of the fort*; but the Sultan marched to subdue the country and to punish the turbulent. After great difficulties he reached the fort, when the commandant came out and fought bravely and at night retired within the fort. This continued for several days, the enemy displaying great valour. At last by chance, the King himself accompanied the forces up the hill of Bávur; when the enemy perceived the royal umbrella, they were panic struck, and the Commandant came out and sued for quarter. The Sultan graciously agreed and passed the pen of forgiveness over the page of their

offences. The commandant and the chief men of these parts received dresses of honour and presents. The Sultan then went to the fort; when he reached the upper part of the fort, the Commandant presented a very large tribute. The Sultan returned it at the same interview, with a dress of honour and a gold-mounted dagger. The Commandant agreed to pay a yearly tribute, and the government of the country was entrusted to him," (*Tabakat-i-Akbari*.) †

"In this year [869 A. H], Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat marched to attack the fortress of *Bárrad* and the port of Dūn [Dawan]. The ruler of the territory [*Hakam*] found himself reduced to a helpless condition after several days' fighting and, having begged for quarter, surrendered the fortress and the port. The Sultan taking pity on him, restored the country to him. The chief [*Mukaddam*] of the place waited upon the Sultan with whatever valuables he could come at in the way of a present and the Sultan then returned to Gujarat." *Tarikh-i-Alfi*. (Mullà Firuz Library MS.)

"In 869 [A. H.], the Sultan descended upon the castle of *Bárdū*, which was on the top of a hill *within the boundaries of the well known port of Daman*. He slaughtered and plundered because of the disturbances created by the inhabitants of the land. When the Sultan ascended the fortress for conquering it, its master gave up the keys and surrendered it. The Sultan entered and looked about him and then left and came down." Ulugh Khani's Arabic History of Gujarat, (ed. Ross, 1910, p. 18).

"In the year H. 869 (A.D. 1465), he [Mahmud] marched to the mountain *Báwar*, and after reducing the fort returned," *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Bayley's Translation, 178.

"In A. H. 869, he [Mahmud] marched against the *Bárodar* mountains, conquered the rock-fortress and returned to his own country." *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Fazlullah Lutfullah's Translation, 52.

† I give Bayley's version, History of Gujarat, 178-9 note, though his text appears to have, in some places, differed slightly from that of the Lucknow Lithograph.

I have no doubt that *one or other* of these passages has at some time or other been read by many persons, but *the conjoint weight of the testimony* when *all of them* are taken together, has not been, I believe, really perceived by any body. For this, the uncertainty which surrounds the transliteration, and consequently, the identification of the names of places and persons in all languages which employ the Semitic alphabet is mainly responsible. In them, everything depends upon the determination of the correct reading by the careful collation of variants occurring not only in different authors but in different manuscripts of the same author, a labour which in this case no one has hitherto thought of undertaking.

I have brought together about twenty of the various readings, without a critical examination of which the real objective of the expedition *must remain in doubt and obscurity, as it has up to the present*. Of the three place-names occurring in these passages, I will first take دُون, which may be read *Dūn* as well as *Dawan*. Sir E. C. Bayley has the following note on the point. "It is said that the country lay between Gujarat and the Konkan. Briggs considers the place to be Dharnpur. It was clearly north of Bombay, for as has been seen, that appears to have been the southernmost Gujarat possession on the coast, the Dakhin possessions lying below it. There is a little port marked Dunnun near to which a spur from the Ghats runs into the low country; and from the stress laid on the difficulty of the way, and the fact that the fort of Báwar was on a hill, this *may possibly have been* the scene of the campaign under description." ³⁰ This is neither very illuminating nor assuring and the hesitating tone of the whole note cannot but strike the reader. Similarly, the writer of the Musulman section of the Bombay Gazetteer 'History of Gujarat' says: "The seaport 'Dun' *may be* Dungri hill, six miles from the coast. But 'Dun' for 'Dahnu' a well known port in North Thana is *perhaps more likely*." ³¹ Fortunately, we have other and clearer lights. The name occurs twice in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, once more in *Ferishta* and once again in the *Tabakat-i-Akbari*. Of the two *Mirat* references, the first is to be found in

30 Bayley, Gujarat, 179 Note.

31 *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 245 Note.

the passage about the 1507 A.C. expedition of Sultan Mahmud against the Portuguese.

بعد از آن در سنه ثلث عشر و تسعمایه بطرف ولایت جاول لشکر کشید و از آنجا بواسطه خلل فرنگیان بطرف خطه بسئی و مهیم فرمود چون بخطه دون رسید خبر آمد که ملک ایاز غلام سلطان حاکم دیو با لشکر روم در ساختن و ده جہاز رومی را ہمراہ خود برداشته ببندر جیول رفتہ

"In A. H. 913 (A. C. 1507-8) he took an army against Chaul (Cheval) and thence marched against Bassein and Mahaim on account of the disturbances created by the Firangis. When he arrived at Dun (Dahanu?) he received news that Malik Ayaz, a slave of the Sultan and Governor of Diu, with ten Turkish ships, manned by Turkish troops had gone to the port of Chaul etc."³² You will see that Mr. Fazal Lutfullah, the translator, is here disposed in the body of the text to favour the identification of Dun or Dawan with Dahanu, but it appears from the *Indēx* at the end of the work, prepared after further study, that he afterwards hesitated between Dahanu and Damaun.³³ The corresponding passage in Ferishta is as follows.

سلطان محمود در صد غزا شدہ بصوب بئادر بسئی و دمن و مهیم روان گردید و چون باخطره دمن رسید³⁴

Briggs unhesitatingly reads and has no doubt of its being *Daman* in his rendering which I quote below:—

"And Mahmudshah also anxious to aid in the expulsion of these strangers [the Portuguese] sailed with a great fleet first to *Daman* and then to Mahim."³⁵

32 Fazal Lutfullah's Trans., 75: Bombay Text, 126.
For Bayley's version, see Gujarat, 222.

33 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Translation, Index, xiii.

34 *Ferishta*, Lucknow Edition, II, 204.

35 Briggs, *Ferishta*, IV. 74. In the corresponding passage Ulughkhani writes دمن *Daman*, I, 37, line 11.

The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* also (Lucknow Text, 479) has دون (Dun or Dawan).

The second reference to *Dūn* or *Dawan* in the *Mirat-i-Sikandari* occurs in the chronicle of the reign of Ahmed Shah II., and there Dun is curiously enough linked with our own Sanjan.

آخر الامر چنگيز خان ولايت دون و سجان کر از مضافات گجرات
بود بفرنگيان داده ايشانرا بکومک خود طلبيد³⁶

"As he could not produce any effect by the investment of [Surat], Changiz Khan had to call in the Portuguese by ceding to them the Gujarat dependencies of Dun (*Daman*) and Sanjan (St. John) as a price for their help."³⁷ Here the same translator who once favoured the identification with Dahanu unhesitatingly declares that Dun is *Daman* and inserts that name himself in brackets.

The gist of it is that *Dūn* or *Dawan* can be only Dahanu or Daman. For the purpose of my argument, *either will do equally well*, for both are almost equidistant from Sanjan. Dahanu is only fourteen miles south and Daman sixteen miles north of Sanjan by rail. But I have no doubt myself that it is *Daman* and not Dahanu, and the question is settled in favour of the former by the authority of an Arab historian whose work has been made available to scholars only within the last three years.

Some years ago, Dr. E. Denison Ross discovered in the manuscript collection of the Calcutta Madressa an Arabic History of Gujarat of which no other copy was known to exist anywhere else. This unique manuscript the Government of India selected Dr. Ross himself to edit and translate for the Indian Texts Series in which the first volume of the text appeared in 1910. The author, Abdulla Mahammad Ulughkhani was born in Mecca about 1540 A. C. and first came to India in 1555 A. C. In 1559 A. C. he entered the service of his first master Mahammad Ulughkhan the Habshi, a distinguished Gujarat noble, as secretary. He afterwards served the Emperor Akbar, then Seyf-ul-Mulk, another Gujarat Amir and lastly Fuladkhan, a Khandesh notable. He appears to have written the book after 1611, though the latest date mentioned in the work itself is 1605 A. C. Dr. Ross gives it as his opinion that his history is among other things "*especially valuable* in respect of Indian and Persian proper names which our author as a foreigner takes great care to spell correctly

36 *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Bombay Text, 1831), 399.

37 Fazlullah Lutfullah, Trans. 286.

and in many places to explain.”³³ This is just the sort of help we want, and we find that in the account of the expedition against *Bārdū* of 869 Hijri (1465 A. C.), he takes care to state that the hill fort was

في حد البندر المعروف الدمن

“on the boundary of the well-known port of *Daman*.”³⁹

But let us suppose for argument's sake that *Dūn*⁴⁰ or *Dawan* is *Dahanu*. What then is *Ferishta's Purnalla*? Can any one acquainted with the geography of the district entertain a doubt that it is *Parnera*? In fact, the local knowledge of the compiler of the *Surat District Gazetteer* enabled him to identify the two names so early as 1877, though in consequence of following Briggs implicitly without consulting the original text, he has mistaken '*Doora*'⁴⁰ [*Dūn*], for *Dharampur*.

“*Parnera*, a hill-fort 4 miles S. E. of *Bulsar* and 120 miles N. of *Bombay*, rises to a height of five hundred feet above the plain. From its commanding position, the fortified summit of the hill has long been considered a place of consequence. Originally a Hindu fort, it remained under the *Raja* of *Dharampur* till about the end of the 15th Century it was taken by *Mahmud Begda*, King of *Gujarat* (1459—1511).”⁴¹

We have thus identified two out of the three place names. What then is the third and the most important? The name *Barad* is found written in the following seventeen forms in different manuscripts, lithographed texts and translations.

- I. بار Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Lucknow Text, II. 196, line 24.
- بادر Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Lucknow Text, II. 196, line 10.
- بار Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bayley's MS. (History of Gujarat, 179).
- باور ” ” Bayley's History of Gujarat, 178.
- باور Tabakat-i-Akbari (Litho Text), 469.

38 *Ulughkhani*, Arabic Text, ed. Ross, I., Introduction, vii.—viii.

39 Ibid, I. 18.

40 This is only some old copyist's blunder. In the *Bombay* as well as the *Lucknow Text* of *Ferishta*, the name is clearly written دون (*Bombay*, II. 385-6; *Lucknow*, II. 196.)

- بارد Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Bombay Text II, 386.
 بارل Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bayley's MS. C.
 بادل " " " E.
 مارو " (Sir Salar Jang's MS.).
 باور Tabakat-i-Akbari (Mulla Firoz Library MS.).
 بار Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Bombay Text, II, 385.

II.

- باورد Mirat-i-Sikandari, Litho Text, (A. C. 1831), 93.
 بارودر " " (Fazalulla Lutfulla, Trans.), 52.
 بارودر " " Bombay Text, (A. H. 1308), 86.
 باررد Tarikh-i-Alfi, (Mulla Firoz Library MS.).
 بارو Ulugh Khani's Arabic History, ed. Ross, 18.
 باورد Tarikh-i-Ferishta, Bombay Text, II. 385.

A critical examination makes it clear that all these variants are more or less corrupt forms of only *two* archetypes بار Bard and بارود Bârud, both of which are still in the mouths of the people. The Bombay Gazetteer calls the hill Bârat, the residents of the district Barad, and the Parsis generally still continue to speak of it as Bârot. It appears from the authorities referred to in the *Tarikh-i-Ferishta* and the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* that their primary sources for the reign of Mahmud were two works called the *Tabakat-i-Mahmud Shahi* and the *Maasir-i-Mahmud Shahi*,⁴² and Ferishta quotes directly from the former an interesting story in the course of which the name of the hill fort under discussion is clearly written بار Barad.⁴³ It may be taken therefore that the form Bârad or Bârud was used by one or other of the older chronicles and that later compilers and their copyists, ignorant of the real name which is never again mentioned in the Gujarat annals, distorted and disfigured one or the other form according as the source of their own information or of those from whom they transcribed at second hand, had preferred one to the other.

42 *Ferishta*, Lucknow Text, I. 4. *Tabakat*, Lucknow Text, 3.

43 *Ferishta*, Lucknow Text, II. 196, Bombay Text, II, 386.

Now if Dun is Dahanu or Daman, it does not really matter which, and Parnalla is Parnera hill fort, is there any other place in the neighbourhood except the hill fort of Bárót which can be identified with بَارُوت or بَارُود Bárád or Bárud? Is there any other place to which the descriptions will apply? Or, to put it differently, is there a word in the descriptions and comments of the chroniclers which will not apply to Barot? Ferishta informs us, (according to both recensions of his text), that 'Bádar' was an extraordinary fortress of *great height and strength*. Ulughkhani declares that *Bardu* was a strong fort on the top of a hill. The *Tabakat-i-Akbari* also talks of its *strength* and of its having been situated on a hill and further avers that the roads were very difficult, a fact to which all those who know anything of the neighbourhood can testify even in the twentieth century. Lastly, Ferishta speaks of the men like devils and of the nature of "ghouls" (fiends, demons) who were employed by the Raja to plunder on the high roads—an evident allusion to the criminal propensities of the black, faced Dhondias, Naikdas and other aboriginal races, for the large numerical strength of which the Parnera division of Surat district is remarkable even in our own days.⁴⁴

Now let us see if this receives any confirmation from the official account of Barot Hill.

"Sanjan Peak or St. John's Point, better known as *Bárat hill*, 1760 feet high, stands about fourteen miles south of Sanjan. It begins to rise at about three miles from the shore and from a round central mound slopes gradually to the north and south. It is an important land mark for sailors, being visible for forty miles in clear weather. In a cave cut out of the rock in the form of a house with windows, doors and pillars, the Parsis hid their sacred fire when they fled from Sanjan. Bárát is said to have been the residence of one Bhungli Raja, who according to the local story, was so called from his having a magic bugle or *Bhungal*, which sounded at his door without any one blowing it."

The compiler adds in a note that "this Bhungli Raja was probably the Chief of Baglana, which is probably a Hindu word slightly changed by Musulmans into "Garden land."⁴⁵

44 Bombay Gazetteer, Surat, VIII, 289.

45 Bombay Gazetteer, XIV, 304-5.

Before leaving this part of the subject I may say that the writer of the *History of the Musulman Period in the Bombay Gazetteer* (I. i. 245) has suggested that Bárud or Bárudar is Bagwárâh, but there are strong reasons for rejecting the proposed identification. In the first place, there is scarcely any phonetic resemblance between either of these names and Bagwárâh. Secondly, the first part of the word in all the variants is *Bâ* and not *Ba*, and most of them cannot with any show of reason be twisted into 'Bagwára'. Thirdly, Ferishta explicitly declares that Bádar was situated "on the top of a hill which in height approached the skies and that in strength it rivalled the walls of Alexander." Similarly, the *Tabakat* informs us that "it was an extraordinarily strong fortress," and Briggs speaks of it as "an extraordinary hill fort which was considered impregnable by the inhabitants." Scarcely a word of this will fit in with what we know of 'Bagwára,' which is only a "small hill."⁴⁶ Nor is the fort itself so situated or constructed as to have ever deserved a reputation for extraordinary strength, much less for impregnability. Indeed, we have it on record that it was one of the "small forts to the south of Surat" captured by the Marathas in A. C. 1672. A hundred and eight years later, the place was again taken by a *small body of troops* detached by General Goddard under Lieutenant Welsh, who had no difficulty in driving back "the Marauders" who had taken possession of it.⁴⁷ Lastly, the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* distinctly states that Mahmud was obliged to undertake the expedition against the Hindu Chief of Báwar because he was "interfering with the shipping," i. e. carrying on piracy. This also is quite inapplicable to Bagwára which is very much inland, while Barat hill "rises only three miles from the shore and is an important land mark for sailors, being visible for forty miles round in clear weather,"⁴⁸ just the place, in fact, for a pirate strong hold. As for the remains of a fortress on Barot, there is no doubt that there are five or six chambers or caves, one of which is forty feet long, and a subterranean passage said to have its exit on the road leading to Sanjan.⁴⁹ It is further certain that

46 Bombay Gazetteer, Gujarat, Part II. 5.

47 J. A. Baines, Maratha History of Gujarat, Ibid. I. i. 387, & 409.
Grant Duff, History of the Marathas, I. 211.

48 Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 304-5.

49 Sanj Vartman, 8th March, 1905. (Description of a visitor).

cisterns for holding water have been "hewn in places" out of the rocky scarp⁵⁰ and all these "traces of former inhabitants"⁵⁰ sufficiently indicate that the strategic value of a hill dominating the whole district had been turned to account by some local chieftain in bygone times.

So far as to the place names. On looking narrowly at the narratives themselves we find fairly close agreement with the *Kisseh*, closer perhaps than we have any right to expect. Though the Musulmans do not acknowledge a decisive reverse, the *Tabakat* candidly declares that the Raja displayed great valour, repeatedly made vigorous sallies during the day-time and retired behind the walls only after nightfall. Ferishta and the *Tarikh-i-Alfi* explicitly state that the Raja fought more than one battle. The *Kisseh* account also shows that Mahmud's forces encountered a stubborn opposition and the *Tabakat* admits that the first attempts to take the fort were unsuccessful and that the Raja surrendered his stronghold only when he thought that the entire force of the Sultan was concentrating and coming up the hill to take it by storm. According to the text of Ferishta, which Briggs used for his version, Mahmud's forces "proceeded after taking [Bárád or] Báwar to Doora"⁵¹ and Purnalla [Daman and Parnera], defeated the infidels in several actions and the Raja was obliged to give up his forts." May we not, without anything like a violent exercise of the imagination, say that Sanjan which is only a few miles distant, was one of the places or forts taken after one of these "several actions."

Another point worthy of note is that the language of Ferishta as well as Nizam-ud-din-Ahmad of the *Tabakat-i-Akbari* points not to one but at least two Hindu Chiefs or Zamindars having made common cause against the invader, knowing themselves to be equally imperilled by his aggressions. Nizam-ud-din Ahmad says,

زمیندار باورو بندر دون جهازات را مزاحمت میرسانند

and Sir E. C. Bayley rightly takes them to be two different persons and translates: "[It was reported to Sultan Mahmud that] the Zamindars of Bawar and of the port of Dun were interfering with the shipping."

⁵⁰ Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. Part i. 7.

⁵¹ 'Doora' دور is obviously a copyist's blunder for دون Dun or Dawan in the MS. used by Briggs for his translation.

Again we are told,

چون سردار قلعه و کلانتر نواحی باخدمت آمدند

"The commandant and the chief men of those parts"⁵² here mentioned must include the person spoken of as *Raja of Dūn and other chieftains* of this part of the North Konkan, who, we have reason to believe, were not, a few in number.⁵³ At any rate, we must suppose the Raja of Barot to have been a *different person* altogether from the Chief of Sanjan, for the *Kisseh* represents the latter to have been *slain* in the last day's battle.⁵⁴ This also goes far to explain why the Parsi priests anxious to preserve the sacred fire from desecration and outrage sought and obtained, after the crushing defeat and death of their own local chief, the protection of his still surviving and prosperous ally, the Rajah of Barot—than whose mountain-fastness surrounded by woods and jungles no more eligible place for their purpose could have been found. Another statement made by Ferishta as well as Nizam-ud-din Ahmad deserves some notice. The *Tabakat* states that "the *Zemindars* of Bāwar and of the port of Dūn had never received any chastisement from the Sultans of Gujarat." Ferishta puts it in a stronger form still and positively declares that the fort of Barad "had not upto that time fallen into the hands of the *Musulmans*." This is again in accordance with the *Kisseh* which implies that their first experience of the fanatical violence of the *Musulman* invader was obtained by the Zoroastrians of Sanjan only in the reign of Sultan Mahmud Begada.

These statements are further important as furnishing a *categorical negative to the assertions* of those who suppose the Sack of Sanjan to have taken place in the time of Alauddin Khilji or at some other time in the Fourteenth Century.

I have referred above to a curious story about this expedition against *Bārad* which Ferishta has transcribed from the *Tabakat-i-Mahmud Shahi*—probably a contemporary chronicle.

در طبقات محمود شاهی مسطور است که در سنه ۸۷۲ اثنی

52 Bayley, Gujarat, 178-9 Note.

53 Nairne, History of the Konkan, 30: Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. ii. 441 and Note; XIV. 210, 303, 314. Ferishta distinctly says that the Raja of Dūn or Dawan possessed a thousand villages.

54 M. R. Unwalla's Litho. Text of Darab Hormazdyar's Revayat, II. 352.

وسمیعین وثمانمایر سلطان محمود جمال جهان آرای آفتاب فلک
رسالت صلی اللہ علیہ وآلہ وسلم را در خواب دید کہ چاشنی کیر
مرحمتش از خوان احسان خود دو طبق باو ارزانی فرمود و تعبیرش آن
بود کہ او را در آن مدت دو موجب عظمی و دو نعمت کبری نصیب
گردد یکی فتح ولایت دون و بارد دوم فتح کرنال و آن بالای کوہی
کہ سر بفلک افراشته واقع شدہ — (تاریخ فرستر — مطبوع بمبئی
جلد دوم ۳۸۶)

"It is written in the "*Tabakat-i-Mahmud Shahi*" that in the year 872 A. H., Sultan Mahmud saw in a dream the world-adorning beauty of the Sun of the Sky of Prophetship, (may the blessing of God be upon him and on his family), who ordered the taster of his favour to present to him [Mahmud] two trays from the table of his grace. The interpretation of this dream was that about that time two great gifts and two magnificent boons would fall to his lot, viz. first, the conquest of the territory of Dūn [Dawan] and *Bārad*, and second, the conquest of Gīrnāl, which is situated on a hill the top of which mounts to the skies."⁵⁵

There is here nothing incredible in itself—for it is only the account of something seen in a dream—and the tale is interesting as well as instructive. It shows that the expedition against *Daman* and *Bārat* was not an insignificant affair, at least in the eyes of contemporaries. It was placed in popular estimation on a par with another notable achievement of the Begada's—the capture of Gīrnār, for like that famous stronghold, *Barat* and *Daman* were not taken without stubborn resistance and great loss of life on both sides and this is just what old *Bahman* also gives us to understand.

You will see, gentlemen, that with the light afforded by these passages, we have come up very close to *Sanjan*, if not to *Sanjan* itself, and may be said with justice to have followed in the track of the *Kisseh* with some hope of ultimately securing at least one-half of the prize. Let us start now in quest of the other half of our problem and inquire what the Moslem chronicles can teach us about *Ulugh Khan* or *Alf Khan*.

55 *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Bombay edition, II. 386. The words employed here to describe the height of Gīrnār are almost identical with those used for *Bārad* and deserve notice.

It must be said, first of all, then, that there were about this time two Alf Khans, who were father and son. Alauddin Sohrab was a Turkish *Mawla* of the Sultan Ahmed Shah (grand father of the Begada). He was governor of the important frontier fortress of Kareth or Sultanabad in the reign of the Sultan Kutbuddin-Mahmud's elder brother; and an interesting story is told of his having on one occasion employed mental equivocation worthy of a casuist trained in the schools and "vindicated his loyalty very much at the expense of his good faith."

He appears to have first borne the title of Ala-ul-Mulk and to have been subsequently raised to the higher dignity of Alf Khan. He is also recorded to have taken an active part in the intrigues which terminated in the deposition, after a reign of only 27 days of the incapable Sultan Daud, and the accession of Mahmud Begada.⁵⁶ It does not appear when he died; but in the chronicle of the reign of Mahmud, he is never mentioned except as the father of his son Alf Khan or Ulughkhan the second, as we may call the latter. Ulughkhani gives the full name of the son as

Al Amir-al-Kabir-Baha-ud-din Ulugh [Alf] Khan bin Ala-ul-Mulk Ulugh [Alf] Khan Sohrab.⁵⁷

Ferishta calls him Alf Khan bin Alf Khan. As his father whose name was Alauddin at first bore the title of Ala-ul-mulk, so the son, whose name was Baha-ud-din was first entitled Baha-ul-mulk in conformity with a custom of the time. The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* tells us that this Alf Khan Bhukai, so called perhaps to distinguish him from his father, was one of the three friends and companions of the Sultan Mahmud's youth. This can scarcely apply to the father who was too old to have been the companion of the boyhood of the Begada who ascended the throne at the early age of fourteen.⁵⁸

56 *Ferishta*, Text, II 199, 249 : Briggs IV, 37, 38, 216, 217,
Mirat-i-Sikandari (Bombay Text, 1831), 53.-4, 60, 74.
Bayley, History of Gujarat, 135-6, 143, 160, 220.
Tabakat-i-Akbari, Lucknow Text, 463, 466, 554.

57 Ulughkhani ed. Ross, 33-4.

58 *Tarikh-i-Ferishta*, Lucknow Text, II, 196, 203.
Briggs, IV, 51-2, 72-3.
Mirat-i-Sikandari, (Text), 93, 125, 141.
Bayley, History of Gujarat, 179, 220, 228.
Tabakat-i-Akbari, (Text), 469, 479.

It is extremely likely that this companion of the Sultan's youth, this "*Mawlazadeh*"—son of the Mawla of the Sultan's grandfather—was one of the commanders of division to whom the task of subduing the country round about Barot and Daman was entrusted, and that unluckily for the Parsis of Sanjan, the subjugation of their Hindu Raja fell to his lot. It is certainly curious that in all the chronicles of Mahmud's reign the narrative of this expedition against Barot is *immediately followed* by the story of a wanton murder, (بی سبب ظاہری as Ferishtah puts it), committed by this man, while the Sultan was out on a hunting excursion in the direction of Ahmednagar (Idar).

"Next year, 870 (A. D. 1466) Mahmud proceeded to Ahmednagar. On the way, thither, Baha-ul-mulk, son of Alifkhan otherwise called Alauddin son of Sohrab, murdered one of the Sultan's troopers and then fled and hid himself."⁵⁹

It is scarcely worth our while to pursue the wretched story. It will be sufficient to say that nothing is said of his having been punished in any way for the offence. This might or might not have been his first, but it was certainly not his last achievement in the homicidal line. We know from other passages that after embezzling his soldiers' pay and defrauding his too indulgent master he went out in open rebellion, attempted but ignominiously failed to secure, the protection of his master's hereditary enemy, the Sultan of Malwa, surrendered at discretion and was restored to favour. But he broke out again only three months afterwards, murdered his own 'Arz Begi' or 'Naib-i-Arz Begi' (Master of Requests or Deputy Master of Requests), was arrested in consequence and thrown into prison where he died in the course of nature⁶⁰ or as some say, of poison.⁶⁰

Now there is nothing at all improbable in *this sort of person* having abused to their utmost extent the rights of conquest against the handful of fireworshippers who had dared to resist him and his battalions. Nor is there any particular reason to be skeptical about the fourteen hundred Behdins having repulsed his three thousand

59 *Ferishta*, Lucknow Text, II, 106. Briggs, IV, 51. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, (Text), 93. Bayley, Gujarat, 179, whose version I quote.

60 *Ferishta* II, Text, 203, Briggs, IV, 72-3, *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Text, 125, Bayley, Gujarat, 220. *Tabakat-i-Akbari*, 479.

horsemen⁶¹ on the first occasion. It is not at all unlikely that expecting very little resistance, he had brought with him a numerically weak force⁶² and it stands to reason that when he encountered a stubborn opposition and sustained something like a reverse, he sought and obtained, (as the *Kisseh* says), reinforcements from the Sultan's head quarters in the neighbourhood,⁶³ and inflicted soon afterwards, if not on the very next day, a crushing defeat on those who had dared to defy him. Indeed, it would have been a wonder if this unhappy victim of "homicidal mania," for such he might be truly called, had not let loose the fury of his passions and "killed, enslaved and driven into the hills,"⁶⁴ as the Gazetteer writer puts it, the inhabitants of the doomed little town.

This, gentlemen, is my case. I do not pretend that every link in the chain of evidence is perfect. There are many things which await elucidation, many, perhaps, which we shall never be able to know or explain, but we must not forget that we have no right to *expect to ascertain everything* about such a matter after the lapse of many hundred years.

There is now only one point about which I should like to say a few words. It is in relation to Bahman's allusion to Champaner. The passage is very clumsily and obscurely worded, and has been interpreted by Ervad Jivanji Mody in a manner that has not commanded the assent of any one I know. Bahman says,

ز بعد چند سال از دور دوران - خبر بر شاه شد از رای سنجان
چو شد در هند پانصد سال انجام - وز آ انیس در چپانیر آمد اسلام
بهی شاهی پدید آمد با بخت - در آن شهر او نشست بر سر تخت
همش محمود سلطان خواندندی - رعایا ظل سبحان خواندندی
چون شد معلوم بعد از سالها چند - سوی سنجان یکی شاهست در هند

"After certain years in the lapse of time, the Shah heard of the Rai of Sanjan. After five hundred years had elapsed [from the arrival

61 *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* in Unwalla's Text of Darab Hormazdyar's Revayet, II,

62 *Kadim Tarikh Pannioni Kasar*, 152. Eastwick says the number was only two thousand. (*loc. cit.* 182).

63 *Kisseh-i-Sanjan*, Ibid. 351.

64 Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 302.

65 *Kisseh-i-Sanjan* in Darab Hormazdyar's Revayet, Text, II. 349.

of the faithful in Hind], Islam was introduced into Champaner. A good Shah was born with fortunate omens. In that city he was enthroned. His name was called Sultan Mahmud. His subjects called him the "Shadow of God. *When after certain years,*"⁶⁶ he was informed that there was a prince in the direction of Sanjan etc."⁶⁷

The difficulty is about the second line. The language employed is exceedingly vague, and if anything precise is made out of it, it can only be by straining and wresting it from its true purpose. All that Bahman says is that *when five hundred years came in India to an end* (آمد انجام) *Islam came to Champaner.*" This Eastwick takes to mean "After five hundred years had elapsed [*from the arrival of the faithful*] in India, Islam was introduced into Champaner," adding the words I have placed in brackets on his own account. Ervad Jivanji will have it that "Islam came to Champaner at the end of five hundred years [*since its introduction*] in India," interpolating words of his own.⁶⁸ Both interpolations are absolutely conjectural and of the two, Ervad Jivanji's is the one with the smallest warrant. The truth is that Bahman's notions of chronology were far from being so precise or clear as some people imagine. There is not a single date in his whole narrative, not an event of which we are told that it occurred in a certain year of any known era. The reason of this probably is that Bahman himself did not know in what year of the Yazdajardi or any other reckoning, the Parsis first landed at Sanjan or left Persia; in other words, he himself *had no starting point*. He therefore contents himself with stating everywhere in a rough and ready sort of way, that this event or that happened 100,200,300, 500 or 700 years after some other—*of which other, however, no date is given*. He was sure that the Sack of Sanjan had been the work of the Begada and we have seen that he was right. He had also heard what almost all men of any education in Gujarat know that this Mahmud Shah had earned his sobriquet of Begada by his conquest of the two farfamed Hindu strongholds (٣٤) of Champaner and Girnar and he consequently mentions in a casual

66 *After what ? Coming to the throne ?*

67 Eastwick's Translation, B. B. R. A. S. Journal, I, 182.

68 A Few Events in Early Parsi History. 28.

way that the Raja of Sanjan owed his destruction to the same conqueror whose name was then in every one's mouth as the first Moslem victor and master of Champaner. It is of course possible to interpret a few words of his strictly and make them *the imaginary basis of a definite date* for the Sack or for a charge of anachronism against the writer but it would be a mistake to do either. Nothing, indeed, can be a greater error than to suppose that Bahman was a great poet, a serious historian or a man of multifarious and accurate scholarship. At the same time, he was not an ordinary man. He belonged to a family possessing remarkable literary aptitudes, a family which included such men as Darab Homazdyar, Hormazdyar Framarz, and Dastur Barzo Kamdin, and it would be folly to suppose that all his statements are unworthy of credit.

But it must be also recognised that he is occasionally out of his depth and I should not be at all surprised if it was proved that he was ignorant of the real date of the storming of Champaner altogether. Historical studies have never been much affected in the past by the learned of any persuasion in this country. The Mahomedans are, generally speaking, not so open to reproach in this matter as the Hindus and the Parsis, but really good Mahomedan histories are by no means so plentiful as they might be, and in their manner of treating the subject there is certainly considerable room for improvement.⁶⁹ Those Parsi priests of old who cared for letters in the seventeenth and even the eighteenth century were mainly interested in their own religious literature and looked upon all other departments of learning as only ancillary to their theological studies. For an accurate knowledge of the progress of Moslem conquest in India or elsewhere, they cared not only very little, but it was probably the very "abomination of desolation" to them, annals only of the triumphs of those '*Juddin*' who were the bitterest enemies of their ancient faith. The Moslem histories were in their eyes only worthless *Biblia a Biblia*, books which were no books, works which they would not have read even if they could have got them. The exact systems of chronology for the establishment of which *we* make such strenuous efforts were in *their* estimation, only vanities and futilities and one date was to most of them just as good as another. And if there was here and there a person with a "chronological conscience,"

69 Elliot and Dowson, History of India, I. xix—xx.

some one seriously anxious about ascertaining the precise sequence of events, he was rarely able to procure the books which could set his doubts at rest. Briefly, it is impossible to form anything like a just estimate of Bahman's little poem without considering his environment and when we do so, we cannot but consider it a mistake to make laboured efforts to extract a *definite chronological statement* from a casual allusion in a passage *confessedly vague and obscure*.

JÁDI RÁNÁ AND THE KISSAH-I-SANJÁN.

(*A Paper read before the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society on 24th November, 1913.*)

It is fairly well known that almost the only source of our knowledge of the early history of the Indian Parsis is the *Kissah-i-Sanján*, a narrative in Persian verse written by Bahman Kaikobad Hamjiar Padam Sanjana in 969 A. Y. (1600 A. C.). The substance of the first part of Bahman's account, as Anquetil calls it, of the " Parsi retreat ",¹ is that *some time* after, (*it is not said how long after*), the kingship had departed from Yazdajird and the Moslems had come and seized his throne, the Dasturs and Behdins finding it impossible to observe the customs of the Good Faith took refuge in Kohistan (a district of Khorasan in Eastern Persia) and after having remained for a hundred years in that mountainous and wild region, fifteen years in Old Hormuz and nineteen more in the island of Diu, they arrived at Sanjan when a Hindu chief named Jadi Rana was ruling there. As Bahman does not give us anything like a precise chronological starting-point, it remains open to his readers to infer whether a long period of time or a short one, whether many years or a few only intervened between the departing of the monarchy from Yazdajird and the commencement of the Kohistan wanderings. The result has been that later writers on the subject have adopted *various starting-points of their own* and at least six different dates have been put forward for the first arrival at Sanjan, of which the earliest, Vikram Samvat 772 (716 A. C.) is separated from the latest, Vikram Samvat 961, (905 A. C.) by a hundred and eighty-nine years.² To take a few of these only; the compiler of the *Imperial Gazetteer* speaks of "the influx of Parsi Refugees in 775 A. D."³ Ervad Jivanji J. Mody in a paper read before this Society in 1900 adopted the same year, starting from 641 A. C., the date of the decisive Arab victory of Nehavend and adding to it 134 (100+15+19).⁴ Five years later, in another paper, he favoured 766 A. C.⁵ and

1 Le Zend Avesta, Disc. Prelim. CCCXVIII; Tome II. Pte II, XXXIV—XXXV.

2 For Eastwick's translation of the passage, see B. B. R. A. S. Journal, I. 173.

3 Imp. Gaz., art. Sanjan.

4 Journal, B. B. R. A. S., XXI, 10.

5 Journal, B. B. R. A. S., Centenary Volume, 224.

very soon after, he discarded 641 A. C. for 651 A. C. (the year of Yazdajird's death), and fixed upon 785 A. C. ($651+100+15+19$) and even erected upon that shifting and scarcely stable foundation an imposing chronological fabric. ⁶ Then, again, there is hidden away in the Appendix of Mr. Bahmanji Patell's most valuable repertory of Parsi facts, a paragraph to the effect that according to a marginal comment in an Udvara MS. of the *Kissah-i-Sanjān* dated 1816 A. C., the Parsis first landed at Sanjān on Roz Hormazd, Māh Tir, Sunday, Vikram Samvat 895 (839 A. C.). ⁷ Lastly, Ervad M. R. Unwallā can show two MSS. written about 1750 A.C., according to which the same event must have taken place in 961 Vikram Samvat (905 A. C.).

But the most famous traditional date and that which, in spite of its inherent improbability and other unanswerable objections, has commanded the assent of writers, critical as well as uncritical, ⁸ is that which first found its way into print in the "*Kadīm Tārīkh Parsiānī Kasar*" of Dastur Aspandiarji Kamdinji, a polemical treatise, which has the merit or demerit of having blown into flame the smouldering embers of the Kabisah controversy. I have recently shown in another place that it occurs elsewhere also, in a MS, namely, of miscellaneous Persian verses about 150 years old, and I should not be at all surprised if it is ultimately traced much further back. The actual words employed in this old Manuscript are:

“સંવત ૭૭૨ વર્ષ, શ્રાવણ શુદ્ધ ૯ વાર શુક્ર, રોજ ૨, માહે ૪, સને ૮૫ ઈયનદેવરી એવે દને શ્રી ખોરાસાનથી વેહેદીનાન શ્રી સંનલ મધ્યે માહારાજ્ય શ્રી નદિરાણા વખતમાં આવેઆ.”

This date is Friday, Shravan Shud 9, Roz Bahman (2), Mah Tir (4), Samvat 772.

It is now forty-three years since Mr. K. R. Kama pointed out in a Gujarati pamphlet on the "Yazdajardi Era" that the Hindu Tithi here given does not coincide with the Parsi Roz Mah. ⁹ Later calculations made by others also by the best modern methods show that—

Shravan Shud 9, 772 V.S.=7th July 716 A. C. (N.S.) 3rd July, 716 A. C. (O. S.)

6 A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, p. 10

7 *Parsi Prakash* p. 839.

8 Romer, Journal, R. A. S. IV. 360. Bombay Gazetteer, XIII, Part 1. 249.

9 *Yazdajardi Tarikh* (1870), 17-21.

Adhika Shravan Shud 9, 772 V. S.=5th August 716 A. C. (N. S.), 1st August 716 (O. S.).

Roz Bahman, Mah Tir, 85 (A. Y.) (Shahanshahi),=28th September 716 A. C. (N. S.), 24th September 716 (O. S.).

Roz Bahman, Mah Tir, 85 (A. Y.) (Kadmi),=29th August 716 A. C. (N. S.), 25th August 716 (O. S.).

Adhika Shravan Shud 9, 772 V. S.=Roz Depadar, Mah Khordad 85 (A. Y.) (Kadmi).

Shravan Shud 9, 772 V. S.=Roz Adar, Mah Ardibehesht 85 (A. Y.) (Kadmi).

Mr. Kama expressed his conviction that there was an error somewhere—*i. e.*, either in the year or in the Rôz Mâh—and that either the one or the other stood in need of correction. He also pointed out that the Parsi Rôz Mâh and the Hindu Tithi as well as the week day tallied perfectly for *Vikram Samvat* 992 (936 A.C.), but he was for some reason averse from facing the necessary consequences of such an alteration, and adopted the middle but misleading course of supposing that it was not the year but the Rôz Mâh that had been 'muddled' in the course of transmission. The emendation, therefore for which he himself exhibited the most decided partiality was that we should read Rôz Tir, Mâh Second, (Ardibehesht) instead of Rôz Bahmân, Mah Tir (Kadmi).¹⁰ I venture to say that such an error as he imagined to have been committed, is scarcely within the bounds of probability. If Mr. Kama had urged that Rôz Bahman, Mâh Tir had been mixed up with Rôz Tir, Mâh *Bahman*, it might not have been difficult to admit that such a confusion was possible, but that Roz Bahman, Mah Tir should have been mixed up with Rôz Tir, Mâh Ardibehesht, Roz 2, Mah 4, with Roz 13, Mah 2, must appear to most Zoroastrians, if not to outsiders unfamiliar with our nomenclature, almost unthinkable.¹¹ But even '*as it is*,' Mr. Kama's

¹⁰ Ibid. 21-24.

¹¹ "Mr. K. R. Kama has discovered," says the Bombay Gazetteer, "that these Hindu and Parsi dates do not fall together till the Christian year 936. He suggests a simple change in the Parsi date from Roz Bahman, Mah Tir to *Roz Tir, Mah Baha man*, which gives the Hindu date Shravan Shuddh 13th, Samvat 772, or within four days of the accepted date." XIII, Pt. I, 249. This is not at all correct. Mr. Kama really proposed to read Roz Tir, Mah (2) *Ardibehesht*, not *Bahman*. Nothing perhaps can illustrate my contention better than this *unconscious* mistake of the Parsi compilers of this account. Indeed, Mr. Kama himself subsequently appears to have perceived that his first position was scarcely tenable, and adopted the other alternative, though he never advanced a step beyond conjecture. See the Proceedings of the *Zarthoshti Dinna Khol Karnari Mandali*, (1902), pp. 200-201.

suggestion does not really meet the difficulty at all, for even if we read Roz Tir, Máh Ardibehesht, there is not anything like *the perfect coincidence that is alone of any significance*, between the Hindu Tithi and the Roz Máh, but *only an approximation within four days*.

At the same time, the incontrovertible objections to the year itself remain unanswered. Indeed, it is plain from what I have said about the alternative dates, 839 A. C. 905 A. C. etc., that intelligent Parsi chroniclers had long before our own days perceived that 772 V. S.=716 A. C. was absolutely too early and irreconcilable with the *Kissak-i-Sanjan* as well as with many well-known facts. I have often thought that it was the *year* that had been muddled and it was most unfortunate that Mr. Kama should have lent the weight of his authority (which was deservedly high), to the improbable supposition of the Roz Máh only being wrong and the year being right, and thus given a fresh lease of life to the old error. I may say that it is long since I first entertained this notion, but it is only within the last year or two that I have obtained satisfactory evidence on the matter, which I propose to submit to your candid judgments to-night.

My theory then is that V. S. 772 is a very old misreading of V. S. 992, which has been transmitted from generation to generation and which is responsible for that chaos which still reigns in Parsi chronology. I am, of course, aware that the burden of showing the probability as well as the origin of such an extraordinary blunder lies upon me, and I will, therefore, proceed at once to show that in the writings and inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries of the Christian era, the symbol for the number nine (9) is so very much like the modern Devanágari sign for seven (7) that this is not the only mistake of the kind which has engendered confusion and controversy. Were it not that this happened many years since and human memories are short, it would be scarcely excusable to point out at length to the members of this Society that the gifted Bhau Daji committed an almost identical error in a paper read and discussed probably in this very room. He took the date of the inscription of the Silhára Mámváni in the temple of Ambarnáth near Kalyán in Tháná District to be Jyeshtha Shudi 9, 782 Shaka (instead of 982 Shaka). Dr. Burgess confidently declared on architectural grounds that the building was not of the eighth but of the tenth

Shaka century and even cited the opinion of James Fergusson, but the palæographer could not understand how the architect could be right or how the symbols could be read in any other way,¹² and the date of the inscription, remained for some years, a *questio vexata* among scholars. At length, Bhagvanlál Indrají gave to the Society a revised transcript and translation of the ancient record and read Shrávan Shud 9, Shaka 982.¹³

Fortunately, Bhau Daji's as well as Bhagvanlál's facsimiles are to be found in the Journals and a glance at them must convince any one, however strange it may appear, that what looks almost exactly like a modern Devnágari, Mahratti or Gujaráti 'seven' is really a 'nine'. It is scarcely necessary to add that archæologists are now, for all the old doubts and surmises, absolutely unanimous in the matter and the discovery of a series of other Silhára inscriptions and copperplates has made it impossible for any one to adhere to Bhau Daji's reading. Nairne¹⁴ Bhandarkar and Kashinath Telang¹⁵ unreservedly accept Bhagvanlál's view, and though Dr. Fleet vigorously contested the point in 1889¹⁶ and made a last valiant stand behind the trenches, the conjoint weight of Silhára testimony has forced him to yield and admit in a note to the 1896 edition of the "Kanarese Dynasties" that "Bhau Daji's reading of 782 Shaka was wrong and that Pandit Bhagvanlál correctly read it 982."¹⁷

Let us now hear Bhagvanlál himself about *the cause of the error*—the matter of the greatest interest to us.

"Of the year, Shaka Samvat 982 is read. The first figure resembles nearly the modern Nágari 'seven' but the curved stroke of this figure does not appear to have been so much curved as that of the one in the inscription is, even a few years ago and would not therefore have been so represented at this earlier period. In Valabhi inscriptions, however, I have found a similar figure representing

12 B. B. R. A. S. Journal, IX. 219.

13 Ind. Antiquary IX. 43. B. B. R. A. S. Journal, XII. 329.

14 Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 18.

15 Indian Antiquary, IX. 43. B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Centenary Volume, 43.

16 Ind. Ant. XVIII. 94.

17 Bombay Gazetteer, I. ii. 543 note.

' nine, ' and in an inscription of Alla, Magistrate of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, the date 933 is thus written ७३३, and its value is therein expressed in words thus :

संवत्सरशतेषु नवसु त्रयतिशदधिकेषु ।

The figure 'nine' in this inscription is very similar to the one now under notice. From this the date can be inferred to be 982. The only difficulty that I feel in the above inference is the difference in the form of the 'nine' which stands for the day of the month in the same inscription, and to which I cannot by any means assign any other value than ' nine.' The difference can only be accounted for by supposing that *there were two figures in use at the time to denote the same number.*" ¹⁸

As it is now twenty-seven years since this was written and as a quarter of a century is a period sufficiently long, at least in the history of archæological research, to produce revolutions, you have a right to demand the production of some later authority. Fortunately, nothing can be more conclusive than the following passage from a paper on "A New Silhára grant of Shaka 1049" by Professor K. B. Pathak which appears in your volume for 1903.

"This grant," says Mr. Pathak, "is also of interest in furnishing a correct interpretation of the inscription in the temple of Ambarnáth near Kalyán which has formed the subject of controversy among scholars. The date consists of three decimal figures, the first of which closely resembles the modern Nágari 7. Dr. Bhau Daji read the date as Shaka 782. Dr. Bhagvanlál Indrají, on the other hand, interpreted it as Shaka Samvat 982, because a figure closely resembling a modern Nágari 7 really stands for 9 on the Vallabhi grants and in an inscription of Bhojadeva of Gwalior, dated Vikram Samvat 933. Dr. Fleet has contributed an elaborate paper in which he upholds Dr. Bhau Daji's reading on the ground that (1) in the Vallabhi grants we are concerned with numerical symbols and (2) that we are dealing with very different parts of the country in respect of the Ambarnáth and Gwalior inscriptions. These objections are removed by the present grant in which the last figure in the date

closely resembles the modern Nagari 7, though its value is definitely given in words as 'nine.' This affords an interesting confirmation of Dr. Bhagvanlál's reading of the date in the Ambarnáth inscription as Shaka 982." ¹⁹

You will see that Mr. Pathak does not seem to have been aware of Dr. Fleet's note of 1896, which I have already quoted. Putting that aside, there cannot be a shadow of doubt that *there were two figures in use* in the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christain era to denote the number 'nine,' one of which resembled the modern Nágari symbol for 'seven,' and the other that for 'nine.'

It thus becomes quite easy to understand how some Zoroastrian priest committed the very error from which all his learning and experience could not save Bhau Daji, and just as the Doctor misread 782 Shaka for 982 Shaka, so the priest thought 992 V. Samvat was 772 V. Samvat and left us, in consequence, a fruitful legacy of blunder, confusion and preposterous assumption. But this is not all. Just as the Parsi date is *Shrávan Shud 9*, 992 V.S., so the Ambarnáth date is 982 Shaka, *Shrávan Shud 9*, (or according to Dr. Bhau, *Jesht Shud 9*), and the symbol for the day of the month in both facsimiles is exactly like a modern Nagari 'nine' and does not resemble the symbol employed for 'nine' in the number of the year (982). It is easy to perceive how this fact must not only have *produced the error*, but afterwards *promoted and confirmed it* for seeing one sign exactly like the modern symbol for 'nine,' the Parsi priest must, like the Hindu Doctor, have inferred that the other stood for a different number altogether and could not by any means be anything else than a 'seven'.

To my own mind, this is not only a satisfactory explanation of the origin of the error, but a convincing proof of 992 (Vikram Samvat) being the *genuine traditional* date of the landing. But I have no intention of asking you at this stage to accept my amendment as a substantive historical proposition and I will at present merely request you not to altogether discard such a supposition if only to enable me to proceed with my argument.

Supposing then for a moment that the Persian refugees did land at Sanjan in 992 V. S.=936 A. C., what is it that accerddited history

teaches us about those who were the masters then of that part of the present Tháná District? It is now common knowledge that the Silhárás of the North Konkan, were a dynasty who ruled there independently or in subordinate alliance with the Rashtrakutas of Malkhed, the Chálukyas of Gujerát and perhaps also others, from about 830 A. C. to about 1260 A. C., with some interruptions. The date for their second King Pullashakti is 843-44 A. C., and their capital was at Puri which Wathen, Nairne and others²⁰ are in favour of locating at "the Moreh bunder or landing on the north-east corner of Ghárápuri or Elephanta, but which Mr. Edwardes²¹ and Mr. Jackson²² would identify with Thana itself. These Silhárás speak of themselves as Lords of the Konkan and designate their territory, the Konkan fourteen hundred, of which the chief towns appear from their epigraphic records to have been Sthánaka, (Tháná), Shurpáraka (Sopará), Chemul (Chaul), Lavantata (Lonád), Uran²³ and above all, Hamyamana, or Hanjamanaganagara, that is Sanján itself. The last is mentioned four times in their copper-plates, *viz.*, those of Arikesarideva, 939 Shaka (1018 A. C.), Chittarájdeva, Shaka 948 (1026 A. C.), Anantadeva, Shaka 1016 (1094 A. C.), and Aparáditya, Shaka 1049 (1127 A. C.)²⁴

Now let us hear what the Parsi tradition crystallized in Bahman Kaikobad's verses has to say about the matter. "In that territory," Bahman declares, "there was a good Raja who flourished there in righteousness. His name was Jádi Rana, who was liberal, wise and prudent. A Dastur went before him with offerings, selected for his learning and understanding. He blessed him and said, 'O Ráy Ráyán (King of Kings), grant us a place of abode in this thy city. We are poor and have sought thy protection. We have arrived in thy city and at thy abode. We have arrived here by reason of our faith. We have heard that in this place is one of virtuous acts

²⁰ History of the Konkan, Bombay Gazetteer, I. ii. 16. Bom. Gaz. XIV. 401-2.

²¹ Rise of Bombay, 14.

²² Gazetteer of Bombay City, II. 9 note.

²³ Nairne, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 16 and Fleet, *ib.* 543.

²⁴ Asiatic Researches, I. 357. Buhler, Ind. Ant. V. 276. Telang, *ib.* IX. 33. Pathak, B. R. A. S. Journal, XXI. 505. Nairne. Bom. Gaz. I ii, 15; Fleet, *ib.* 538.

descended from the kingly Ráyán, whose fame perpetually extends through Hind.”²⁵

Such is Eastwick's version, to all but the last sentence of which it is not worth while to raise any serious objection. But it is on the same last sentence that everything turns and of which you will permit me to say, the true significance as well as signification has not been perceived by any one.

I will repeat Eastwick's rendering of the last three lines.

“ We have heard that in this place is one of virtuous acts descended from the kingly Ráyán [*Sháhráyan is the word in the original*] whose fame perpetually extends through Hind.”

ز بهردين شدستيم اندراين جاي — شنيدستيم چه بودست يکرای
ز نسل شاهرايان نیک کار است — بهند اندر همیشه نامدار است

In other words, Eastwick has been obliged to understand ‘*Shah*’ as an adjective in the sense of “Kingly,” to make some sense out of the verses. In the Gujaráti version, Dastur Framji Aspandiarji does not tackle the difficulty at all but simply passes it over.

હમેશા શાહલેઈ ઉ જે રાજમાની નશાળ ખુનીઆદથી નેકનામનો હીદોશતાનના દરખેઆનમાં
નેકનામદાર એ જગો ઉપર એક રાજ છે.²⁶

“ We have heard that there is in this place a famous king renowned throughout Hindustan and descended from Kings,” (رایان) as if the vocable *Shah* had not been used at all and the real word was *Rayan* only and not ² *Shahrayan*.” I have no doubt that the fault is not in the translators but in their text, that it is the reading that is corrupt and cries for correction. I am sure that the true lection of this otherwise meaningless collocation “Sháhráyan.” is “*Shallahrayan*,” the plural, according to the rules of Persian Grammar, of “*Shilahra*,” the name of the dynasty to which the ruler of Sanjan in 936 A. C. —992 V. S. belonged, a name which occurs in seven or eight different forms, viz :—

25 B. B. R. A. Journal I. 175-6,

26 *Hadisaneh*, 102.

Silāhara, Shailāhāra, Silāyāra, Silāra, Shilāyar, Shrilāra, Silhar.'"²⁷

The lines will then mean :—

" We have heard that in this place is a Raja descended from the *Shilahras* of virtuous acts, who are ever renowned throughout Hindustan."

Nothing can be plainer or clearer than this, and nothing also can better illustrate the compliment in the last words than the pompous title to which all the Silahras lay claim of being *Tagarapura parameshwara*, "Supreme Lords of Tagarapura," (the ancient and far-famed Tagara of the geographer Ptolemy), just as the Hoysalas and the Yādavas style themselves *Dwaravatipura Varadhishwara*, Lords of the excellent city of Dwārāvati (Dwārka)"²⁸ and the Kadambas, *Banavasipuravar-Adhishwara*, Lords of the excellent city of Banavāsi."²⁹

Supposing then that the Hindu Raja whom the Parsi priest approached with a request for protection was descended from the "Silhārās whose fame perpetually extended throughout Hindustan," which of the members of that dynasty must have been on the throne in 936 A. C.—992. V. S. ? Well, we have the testimony of the Arab Mas'udi that when he was in the Konkan in 916 A. C., the ruler of Saimur or Chaul was named "Jhanjha"³⁰ and all archæologists are agreed that Mas'udi's Jhanjha was the fifth Silahra. The sixth was his brother ' the beautiful Goggi ' as he is called in the Bhandup copper-plate."³¹

"From him sprang a son famed for astounding and enchanting deeds, the illustrious prince Vajjadadeva, a chief of Kings." Now it is unfortunately not possible in the present state of our knowledge to predicate the *exact* year of Vajjadadeva's accession, but there is nothing whatever to militate against the conclusion that he reigned about 940 A. C., and that he is the Jádi Ráná of the *Kissak*, whom

27 Bombay Gazetteer, Nairne, I. ii. 15. Ind. Ant. IX, 39 note.

28 Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 490, 517.

29 *Ibid.* 558.

30 Prairies d' Or. (Barbier de Meynard), II. 85.

31 Ind. Ant. V. 279, Journal, R. A. S. F. S., II, 383, IV. 109.

Wilson sought to identify with Jayadeva, (or Vanraja the Chavda ruler of Anhilwāda) ³² and Campbell supposed to have been "some Yādava chief of South Gujerat." ³³

In the first place, then, we know that only one reign—perhaps a short one—that of the "beautiful Goggi"—intervenes between Jhanjha, who was reigning in A. C. 916 and Vajjadadeva (or Jádi). We also know that there were thirteen rulers between Pullashakti, the second king, for whom we possess the date 843-4 A. C., and Anantadeva, the fourteenth whose records of 1081 and 1095 A. C., we have found. This gives a total of 252 years for thirteen reigns, and the average of nineteen years and a half for the duration of single chieftain's rule. Now, supposing Pullashakti had come to the throne only five years before 843, Vajjadadeva would, according to this approximate calculation, have become king just about 935 A. C., 991, Samvat Vikram.

I have no doubt that Jádi is the local or familiar Deshi form of the name and it is impossible not to be struck, as Buhler was, by the large number of Deshi forms, Vappuvanna, Jhanjha, Goggi, etc., in the dynastic list of these Mahámandleshwars of the Northern Konkan. ³⁴

The dropping of the suffix 'deva,' which is a mere honorific, would scarcely require any explanation. At the same time, it would be a serious error of omission not to note that to Parsi priests of the 10th century, it was an imperative necessity. Assigning to the word 'Deva' as they did, a meaning entirely the reverse of that which it bears in Sanskrit, they must have been peculiarly averse to append it to the name of a prince whom they could not but regard with feelings of gratitude and reverence. Ervad Shahriarji Bharucha, who has recently produced a critical edition of Neriosengh's Sanskrit Writings, tells us that that great Iranist never employs the word '*Deva*' except in the Iranian sense of '*demon*', and the reason is not at all difficult to understand. Neriosengh must have known that if he had used it in

32 Ind. Antiquary, I, No. 1.

33 Bom. Gaz. XIII. pt. i. 249.

34 Ind. Ant. V. 280 note.

any other sense or followed the Sanskrit Dictionaries, he must have been all but incomprehensible to his own people. (Part I. Preface. ii. note.)

What then remains to account for is how 'Vajjada' has been changed into *Jádi*. Of the procope of the *v* which is so common, *e. g.*, (Gujarati) વેરા, વાહેરા, હવેર, બાહાવર, હેરડ, વાહેરડ³⁵ સદરા³⁶ વરરા etc., it is scarcely necessary to give examples, but I have been able to put together from only two books—and those the best of their kind—Bhandarkar's *Dekkan* and Fleet's *Kanarese Dynasties* more than half a dozen parallel cases which absolutely clinch the matter.

I will first take the name of Vajjadadeva's own father. It occurs as 'Goggarāja' in the copperplate edited by Mr. Páthak, and elsewhere as 'Goggi,' with the 'Rāja' dropped and final 'i' added just as in *Jádi*.³⁷ Similarly, a *Mandalik* or feudatory of the Silháras of Karhád is called indifferently *Gonkadeva* or *Gonki* in the inscriptions (1182 A.C.)³⁸ Then, again, Someshwar Kalachuri becomes Soma or Sovideva (1167-1177 A.C.)³⁹; Jomma or Joma of the Gutta family of Feudatories also is spoken of as 'Joyideva (1181 A.C.)⁴⁰ and in both these cases, if the 'deva' was dropped, the name would become *Sovi* or *Joyi*, (just like *Jádi*). The name of Lokaditya, a feudatory of the Rashtrakuta Krishna II is contracted to *Lokade*.⁴¹ So also the form *Paramaddeva* which occurs in various dynastic lists is changed into *Permádi*, (exactly like Vajjadadeva into *Jádi*, with the 'a' elongated and the final 'i' added), *Paramardi*, *Paramardideva*, and *Paramardin*.⁴² The seventh case is that of 'Vaddiga, a Yadav chief of Seunadesha whose name assumes the forms *Vandiga* and *Badagi* and *Vadugi*, with the 'a' again elongated and the final 'i'

35 Belsare, Gujarati-English Dictionary S. V.

36 A. V. Williams Jackson, *Persia, Past and Present*. 380 note.

37 B. B. R. A. S. Journal XXI. 512.

38 Bombay Gazetteer, I. ii. 546, 548. Ind. Ant. XIV. 22.

39 *Ibid.* 227, 484.

40 *Ibid.* 579, 581.

41 *Ibid.* 411 and note. Ind. Ant. XII. 217.

42 *Ibid.* 225, 452, 458, 460, 470, 515, 516.

added just as in Jādi.⁴³ The eighth but not the last case (for many others can be quoted) is that of Brahma, a general of the Chalukya King Someshwara IV, who is indifferently designated Bomma, Bammaya and Bammideva.⁴⁴

After having thus shown that Vajjadadeva is the Jādi of Bahman and Parsi tradition, allow me to proceed to another question of great interest. The *Kissah* account leaves the decided impression that the Hindu Rāja was a very tolerant and liberal-minded sovereign in matters of religion. He not only permitted the refugees to land, and gave them permission to build a fire temple without the smallest hesitation, but gave them all kinds of assistance in consecrating it. The passage is fairly well known and I will therefore give only the last line. "The prince Jādi Rānā himself sent abundant offerings of every description."⁴⁵

Now this is just what we should expect of the Silhāras from their epigraphic records. "From the numerous references to Shiva in the Silara inscriptions," says Telang, "the family may well be inferred to have been devotees of Shiva. Jimuta Vahana's name, however, certainly suggests Buddhist associations. Probably, the creed of the princes was not of a narrow sort and the evidence is daily accumulating that so late even as the 10th and 11th centuries of the Christian era, sundry Hindu princes shewed considerable catholicity of spirit as between Hindu, Buddhist and Jaina."⁴⁶ Similarly, Nairne tells us of their cousins, the Silhāras of Kohlapur that they "appear to have been tolerant Kings, as one copperplate records grants to Mahadeva, Buddha and Arhat. (Journ. B. B. R. A. S. XIII. 17.)"⁴⁷

A later but equally competent witness, the lamented A. M. T. Jackson, who wrote the Hindu chapter for Mr. Edwardes' interesting "Gazetteer of Bombay City," is even more emphatic. "So they passed away these fine old Kings of Thana and Bombay, nor failed to

43 *Ibid.* 231-2, 513.

44 *Ibid.* 237, 464.

45 Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal I. 180.

46 *Ind. Antiq.* IX. 46.

47 *History of the Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 17* [note.

leave to posterity the sign manual of their tolerant and able rule. They fostered trade, particularly trade with Moslem lands, permitting the merchants thereof to build mosques within their territory, appointing a Musulman Judge to decide their disputes and generally treating them with great favour (Al Masudi II. 85). Jews, Christians, and *Fire worshippers* immigrated in large numbers to Chaul and other towns, the chief of which were Sindán (Sanján)," ⁴⁸ Supàrà, Thànà, Chaul, &c.

But we have better evidence even than that of the scholarly and critical Jackson for the "regard and sympathy entertained by "these fine old Kings of Thana" for their Zoroastrian subjects. There is lying in the Museum down-stairs a sandstone slab recording the grant by Anantadeva, the 14th Silhára, in Shaka 1003—1081 A. C. of some *drammas* to the "Khárasán Mandli." ⁴⁹ The writing is somewhat defaced and Pandit Bhagvánlal who deciphered it was not quite sure of the reading *Mandli* or perhaps of the *meaning* of the phrase "Khárasán Mandli" which he has italicised and marked with a query. But it may be suggested that the royal gift was meant for the *people from Khorasan*—the Parsi refugees—whose connection with that great province of Eastern Persia is repeatedly mentioned in the *Kissah-i-Sanjan*—one of the chapters in which is headed

گفتار آمدن بهدینان در کشور هندوستان از شهر خراسان —

"Account of the coming of the Behdins from *Khorasan* to the country of Hindustan." And again, in his account of the building of the Fire Temple, Bahman says,

بر ایشان بود هر جا کار آسان — که آورده بودند آلت خراسان

"All their affairs were prosperous in as much they had brought with them the tools and skill of *Khorasan*." ⁵⁰

It is a pity that we cannot say anything positively of the purpose of the gift, and it may be perhaps useless to say anything where it is impos-

⁴⁸ Gazetteer of Bombay City, Vol. II 12.

⁴⁹ Nairne, Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 19, XIV, 379.

⁵⁰ Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal. I. 180.

sible to advance beyond the region of conjecture, but I should like to invite your attention to the curious fact that of the twenty-five grants of the Silharas, three only, besides this one, record gifts of money or *drammas* and all those three were made *for strictly religious purposes*.

The object of the first gift of the sort (the inscription is on the architrave over the verandah of Kanheri Cave No. 78 and of the time or Pullashakti, 765 Shaka = 843-4 A. C.) was the repairs of the Buddhist monastery and the provision of clothes and books for the priests.⁵¹ The second donation (temp. Aparāditya, Shaka 1109 = 1187 A. C.) was made for the "worship by five rites of the God Vaidyanath of Darbhavati."⁵² The third is dated 1171 Shaka = 1249 A. C. in the reign of Someshwar and is a donation to "Uttareshwar Mahadeva of Shri Sthanaka" (Thana).⁵³ It may be a hazardous conjecture, but it is *just possible* that the fourth money grant of the same kind may have been connected in some way with the erection and maintenance or repairs of the *fire temple* of the *Khorasan Anjuman* the exact Parsi equivalent of the Sansrit *Mandali*, (if that is the true reading of the three letters about which Pandit Bhagvanlal was not quite sure).

Let me pause for a moment on the results arrived at. I have shown that the reading 772 V. Samvat is a mistake for 992 V. Samvat and I have explained how the error arose. I have, by making a very slight emendation of an 'alif' into a 'lam,' (two letters which are almost alike in cursive Persian and which are constantly being mixed up by copyists) in an hitherto incomprehensible line of the *Kissah*, proved that *according to a Parsi tradition recorded in 1600 A. C.*, the ruler of Sanjan in 992 V. Samvat was a *Silhara* and that his name was Jadi Rana. I have lastly demonstrated from epigraphic records that this Jadi Rana was no other than Vajjadadeva, the seventh Silhara.

I request you particularly to note that this name Silhara which I have shewn to exist in the *Kissah* itself is the patronymic of a

51 Fleet, Kanarese Dynasties. Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 404; Ind. Ant. XIII. 136.

52 Nairne, Konkan, Bom. Gaz. I. ii. 20 n. B. B. R. A. S. Journal XII. 335.

53 *Ibid.* 21.

family of princes of which all recollection had vanished from the minds of the most learned in local history until it was unearthed by archæological research within only the last hundred years. I regard *the absolutely unconscious preservation of the name by Parsi tradition* and the unexpected confirmation of Bahman's statements by Hindu inscriptions as the most convincing proof hitherto discovered of their resting on a nucleus of, not only genuine oral tradition, but perhaps of very old written memoranda.

After this resumé of the argument itself, allow me to invite your attention to some of the corollaries of the proposition. In the first place, then, it explains why not a single reference to the Parsis in Western India during the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries has been ever found though they are *popularly supposed* to have arrived so early as 716 A. C. It enables us also to understand why the earliest notice, the first Kanheri Cave Pahlavi inscription, is dated only 1009 A. C.,⁵⁴ and the second 1021 A. C. It makes besides, the traditional date of the foundation of the first Parsi colony—that of Navsari—not only perfectly intelligible and free from suspicion but consistent with the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* also. That date is said to be 511 A. Y.⁵⁵ = 1142 A. C. or 551 A. Y.⁵⁶ 1182 A. C. that is, four hundred years and more after V. Samvat 772 (716 A. C.), *the supposed traditional date* of the landing. It has been incomprehensible to many why the Zoroastrians should have taken four hundred years and more to spread out to a town only fifty or sixty miles distant from Sanjan. Bahman tells us that the peregrinations began “three hundred years more or less” after the landing. The *more or less* now acquires a very real meaning which is simply this, that the first settlement in Southern Gujerat—that of Navsari—took place *less than* three hundred years after the landing and that the Zoroastrian colonies in some of the other towns (Vankaner, Anklesar, Variav, etc.) came later. Now if we take 1182 A. C. as the date of the Navsari colony, we have an interval of 246 years—just what Bahman says—a few less than three hundred.⁵⁷

54 Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 187-8, Arch. Survey Reports, X, 62-5. Mr. K. R. Kama re the first date 999 A. C. (368 A. Y.) instead of 378 A. Y. (1009 A. C.), *Zarthosti Abhij* Part iii. 160. *Parsi Prakash*. 2. Dr. E. W. West read 378 A. Y. *Ind. Antiqua* IX, 265.

55 *Parsi Prakash*, 2 note.

56 *Bhagarsath Vanshavli* p. 1.

57 Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal I. 181.

Moreover, it removes one of the principal difficulties in the way of accepting the Athornán Genealogy. A glance at the pedigree of the Broach Dasturs shows that there are, *at the most* only thirty-three generations between the late Mr Ardeshir Sohrabji Dastur Kamdin,⁵⁸ who was born in 1838 and a Dastur Shahpur Shahriar, *who is said to have been* one of the first band of refugees. If we accept the date 716 A. C., there would be thirty-three generations only in 1122 years, giving the inconceivably high average of 34 years for a single generation. But if we adopt 936 A. C. 992 V. S., you have only 902 years and an average of only twenty-seven years which is still high, but which is not improbably due to some names having slipped out between Shahpur Shahriar and Hormazdyar Ramyar. It may be noted that the ten generations which immediately follow after Hormazdyar are taken, as Dr. E. W. West has rightly observed,⁵⁹ from that "best of all authorities for early dates," a contemporary colophon—the colophon, namely of Peshotan Ram Kamdin's MS. of the Book of Arda Viraf and Gosht-i-Fryano of 1397 A. C.⁶⁰ Lastly, it would make Bahman's statement that Mahmud Begada's Sack of Sanjan took place about five hundred years or a little more after the landing perfectly harmonize with historical facts, for I have recently shown elsewhere that that disastrous event occurred, according to the Musalman historians themselves in 1465 A. C.

In a word, this change will, over and above placing the early history of the Parsis in India *on the sound critical basis* of a date derived from unimpeachable *epigraphic evidence*, restore order in the hitherto chaotic realm of Parsi chronology, bring daylight where there has hitherto been only darkness and solve not one but many difficulties which have been heretofore insuperable in that department of inquiry.

Here, I may be permitted to say a few words in anticipation of a possible objection. It may be said that the Shaka era was used throughout the Western Coast at this time and that all the Silahrā dates are in that era. How then could the Vikram Samvat have been employed by these Parsis? The answer is easy. These Zoroastrians

58 *Bharuch Dastur Khandan ni Vanshavli* and Dr. West's letter in J. J. Mody, *Irani Vishayo*, III, 199-200.

59 Letter in *Irani Vishayo*, III 199.

60 Haug and West, Book of Arda Viraf, 246, 266.

came to Sanjān from Diu in Kattyawār and it was there they had become first acquainted with the Hindu system of reckoning time. It is well known to scholars that the Hindu era generally in use in *Kattyawār and Gujarat* during these centuries was the *Vikram and not the Shaka Samvat*. All the Chavda, Chalukya and Vāghela dates of the Gujarat province are in the Vikram era, and the numerous inscriptions also of that period mentioned in the Kattyawār Gazetteer are almost all in the Vikram era.⁶¹

I have said above that some of Bahman's statements appear to have been based not only on a nucleus of genuine oral tradition, but, perhaps of written memoranda. Those memoranda were no doubt made intermittently and without system and the few which remain show, as I have proved elsewhere,⁶² signs of much blundering and misapprehension in their present state, but they must be pronounced trustworthy and valuable whenever, in virtue of extraneous support, we can be sure of their having been correctly read and transmitted in the original form. Indeed, Bahman himself tells us at the end of the poem that he had written the *Kissah* according to what "he had seen and also learnt from the conversation of his elders."

من این قصر بگفتم آنچه دیدم - ز گفتار بزرگان هم شنیدم

As he does not make any reference whatever to contemporary events or even to any which occurred within a hundred years of the date of the composition of his narrative (1600 A. C.), we must take it that he means by "what he had seen," notes and memoranda which he had had the opportunity of *reading with his own eyes*. He is more explicit as to the name of the person from whom he derived the substance of oral tradition.

شنیدستم من از دانای دستور - که همواره باخوبی بود مشهور
ز بی دستور بودش نام جوشنگ - بدانش در همیشه بود باشنگ

61 Bhagvanlal and Jackson, *History of Gujarat*, Bom. Gaz. I.i. 149-206. *Kattyawār Gazetteer*, p. 357, Inscription of (V.S. 1042), p. 653. (V.S. 1076), p. 515. (V.S. 1141), p. 693, (V.S. 1139), pp. 282, 543 (V.S. 1202), pp. 543, 609 (V.S. 1225), p. 547 (V.S. 1260), p. 691 (V.S. 1262), p. 664 (V.S. 1264), pp. 652, 664 (V.S. 1272), p. 686 (V.S. 1320), and many others.

62 See my papers on the "Traditional Dates of Parsi History." (*Iranian Association Journal*, Jan. and Feb. 1914).

هموزندو اوستا خوانده بوده - ز خود اهر یمنان را رانده بوده
 بشهرش در عیان میبود دستور - کز و گشتشت دین پیوسته پرنور
 در آن آیام حکمش بر همه کس - برفتی و بکردی کار دین بس
 از و هرکس که پرسیدند ز دین راز - بگفتارش بکردی کار دین ساز
 بشهر خویشتن که آستان بودش - بشاگردان دل و جان شاد بودش
 زگفت باستان این داستان گفت - نهانی راز های راستان گفت †

"I have heard this from a wise Dastur, who was always renowned for virtue. May the Dastur whose name is Hoshang live long, whose wisdom had always great excellence. He had read the Zend Avesta also and thus driven away devils from himself. He was manifestly *the Dastur in his city* and the Faith always received lustre from him. In those days *his authority was exercised over all* and he *managed the affairs of the religion*. Whosoever consulted him about the secrets of the faith, *performed all religious duties according to his advice*. In his own town, where he was the (universal) teacher, his pupils were devoted to him heart and soul (or he was devoted heart and soul to his pupils). He told me this tale according to the sayings of the men of old and repeated (the secret facts or) the obscure history of the men of the True Faith." (The translation is my own).⁶³

It is perhaps unfortunate that the name of Dastur Hoshang's father is not appended, but that really makes no difference whatever. The expressions employed, the epithet *Dastur of the city*, the reverent manner in which his informant's piety and learning are spoken of, the allusions to his being the universal referee on religious matters, and above all, the explicit declaration *that his authority was exercised over all* and that he "*managed the affairs of the religion*," in a word, that he was *the acknowledged religious head of the community* can apply to but one person living in 1600 A. C., the famous Dastur Hoshang Asá Sanjaná, of Navasári. The *Maktub-i-Fredun Marzaban*, a letter of introduction from the Iranian priests which, according Dr. West (Index to Darab Hormazdyar's MS. Revayet in the Bombay University Library), must have been written about 1570 A. C., is addressed

63 The second couplet does not occur in some copies, but I have found it in at least three old and good manuscripts and it was not absent from Anquetil's Copy. (Le Zend Avesta, Tome II, Pte. II, xxxiv.)

among the Navsàri priesthood to only two notables, Dastur Mahiár (Ràná), who died in 1591 A. C.⁶⁴ and this Dastur Hoshang (Asá), and among the laity to the brothers Minocheher and Noshervan Bahman Manek Changa, the first of whom died in 1640 Samvat, 1584-A. C., according to an old *Disápothi*.⁶⁵ About thirty years later (1601), the name of Dastur Hoshang Asa again occurs in the Revayet of Kaus Mahiyar and then, it is not in the second place but in *the very first, the place of honour*, just what we should expect from Bahman's statement.⁶⁶ Now I have been able to put together the pedigree of Hoshang partly from this old *Disápothi*⁶⁷ and partly from the papers left by a famous Athornan genealogist, Dastur Jamaspji Sohrabji Meherji Rana⁶⁸. The account obtained from these sources is confirmed by a Sanjana Fihrist kindly procured for me by my old friend Mr. J. D. Bharda—It is as follows :—

Hoshang-Asa-Kamdin-Chayyan-Asa-(or Asdin)-Khorshed-Kamdin.

In a word, Hoshang was lineally descended from Khorshed Kamdin, the *Khorshed Buzurg-i-Sanjana* of the Revayets of 1486 and 1511, one of the three revered ministers of the Iranshah, who had personally endured the heat and brunt of the day in the evil times of the Bandsah wanderings. *Hoshang* must have been in 1600 A. C., a man of great age, older certainly than Bahman, who repeatedly speaks of himself as *Bahman-i-pir*, the 'aged Bahman,' "whose youth was gone and old age had arrived." I have attempted to fix approximately the birth-dates of Hoshang's ancestors, on the probable supposition that Hoshang was about seventy years old in 1600 A. C.

Born, *Circa*, A. C. 1530, *Hoshang*, mentioned 'in the Revayets of
Circa 1570 A. C. and 1601 A. C.

„ „ A. C. 1507, *Asa* mentioned in the Revayet of 1553 A. C.

„ „ A. C. 1484, *Kamdin*.

64 *Parsi Prakash*, 9.

65 Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur, *Bhagarsath Vanshavalí*; 240.

66 *Parsi Prakash*, 839.

67 *Bhagarsath Vanshavalí*, 241.

68 For these papers I have to make my acknowledgments to Ervad Mahiar Nowroji Kutar. The same pedigree is given in a *Khordeh Avesta* MS, written in A.Y. 970 (1601 A.C.) by Herbad Shapur Dastur Hoshang Asa. (Navsari Meherji Rana Library M S. F. 4 ; Proceedings, *Kholqarnari Mandali* (1891), p. 44,

Born *Circa*, A. C. 1461, *Chayyan* mentioned in the *Revayat* of 1516 A. C.

„ „ A. C. 1438, *Asa (Asdin)*

„ „ A. C. 1415, *Khorshed Kamdin* „ 1486 and 1511 A. C.

Now taking the earliest date and the latest, we get a period of one hundred and fifteen years and the reasonable average of twenty-three years for a generation. Now Hoshang's grandfather Kamdin Chayyan must, according to these approximately calculated dates of birth, have been twenty-seven years old at the time of Khorshed Kamdin's death about 1511 A. C., and sixty-six when Hoshang himself was twenty. It is quite possible, therefore, that Hoshang heard the story of the Sack of Sanjan and its sequel from one to whom Khorshed Kamdin, *himself an eyewitness*, had told it. And if Hoshang Asa born about 1530 A. C. could have heard it from his own grandfather (a man sixty-six when he himself was twenty), he must have had opportunities of hearing the same story from other grey bearded priests or laymen (his grandfather's contemporaries) who had in their turn received it from some parent or grandparent who had lived in the same age as Khorshed Kamdin. In the same way, it can be proved from the same sources that Bahman Kaikobad was a direct descendant of Khorshed's colleague Nagan Ram, the pedigree being, Bahman-Kaikobad-Hamjiar-Padam-Kama-Narsang-Nagan-Ram.

In other words, whatever may be said of the authenticity and credibility of *the earlier events* mentioned in Bahman's narrative or of those belonging to the intervening period, *the story of the Sack* and the *Bansdah wanderings* appears to rest on evidence removed, *but one step or two from that of eyewitnesses*. It is now acknowledged even by those who are most disposed to discount his worth that Bahman's statements about Changa Asa are fully borne out by the contemporary evidence of the *Revayets* of Nariman Hoshang, in both of which that worthy is represented in the same light, *viz.*, as a philanthropic layman observant of religious rites, and devoted to the cause of spiritual reform."

Let us go now back a little further and hear what the *Kissah* says, about Sanjan itself. Bahman Kaikobad tells us that the "Raja gave them permission to abide in the land. He ordered that their men of

rank and age, of good disposition and wise of counsel should examine the land minutely and when they found a vacant spot should inform the Mobed thereof. A place in the desert was fixed upon. It was a pleasant spot and there they fixed their abode. When the Dastur saw the soil was good, he selected the place for their residence. The Dastur named that spot Sanján and it became populous as the land of Iran."⁷⁰

All this turns out on examination to be really more accurate than one has a right to expect in a "poetical narrative." There is, no doubt, notwithstanding the mention of a *Sindán* by the Arab geographers of the ninth century, that the Konkan Sanján first came into existence only in the tenth century, and that its prosperity dated from the incoming of the Parsis and other foreigners. The writer of the chapter on the Arab References in the Bombay Gazetteer History of Gujerat has seen this very clearly and pointed out that the earlier references of Biláduri 892 A. C., Ibn Khordádbih 912 A. C. and Mas'udi 915 A. C. are all about the Kacch Sindán.⁷¹

There can be no doubt that the Konkan Sanjan was originally a colony founded by the Zoroastrian refugees who gave it its name after *Sanján*, a town in the Khwáf district of Kohistan—that Kohistan in which they first took refuge for religion and conscience's sake and which they afterwards abandoned for more distant lands for the same reason. The Arab Geographer Yácut in his *Moajjam-ul-Buldán*, mentions four places of that name, one of which was situated near Nishápúr and the other was this township in the district of Khwáf.⁷² Mr. Guy Le Strange informs us in his excellent monograph on the *Nuzhat-ul-Kutúb* of Hamdulláh Mustawfi that "Khwáf with its district lies to the south of Bākhazr and Mustawfi gives as its chief towns Salám, *Sanján* and Zūzan."⁷³ The same accurate writer gives us to understand elsewhere that Salám, *Sanjan* and Zūzan were the chief centres of population in the district of Khwáf in the 8th century of the Hejira, and that Yácut calls Zuzan "a little Basra for its

⁷⁰ Eastwick, B. B. R. A. S. Journal. I., 179.

⁷¹ Bom. Gaz. Vol. I. i., 520-1,

⁷² Barbier de Meynard, Dictionnaire de la Perse, 323.

⁷³ Mesopotamia and Persia under the Mongols, 86.

trade and refers to it as a *shrine of the Magians*.”⁷⁴ That the name was first given by the Parsis and is not of indigenous origin is further proved by the artificially Sanscritised forms ‘Hamyamana,’ and ‘Hanjamanagara’ of which such a good Sanscritist as Telang said he could not make anything so late as 1880.⁷⁵ It is easy to suggest and it has been since suggested by many that the Sanscritised form is connected with the Persian word ‘*Anjuman*’, Avestaic *Hanjamana*, meeting, assembly, congregation of the Faithful.

But I am not aware of any one having pointed out that this name, ‘Hanjamanagara,’ the Sanscritised form of *Sanjān* bears exactly the same meaning as *Hamdan*. The equivalent of *Hamadan* “in the ancient Persian inscriptions is *Hagmatana* [old Persian *Hangamatāna*, Behestun, 2, 76-77] which means literally ‘a place of meeting, concourse of many ways’ and Hamadan to-day is a meeting place of as many highways from various parts of the kingdom as when it was the Median Capital.”⁷⁶

Now whether the name of Sanjan can, through *Hamadan*, be *etymologically affiliated* to the old Persian *Hangamatāna* or not, it is certain that the Konkan Sanjan came to be a real *Hangamatāna* or *Hanajamanagara* “a meeting of many nations, a concourse of many ways.” The Arab Idrisi tells us in the 12th century that it was populous, its inhabitants noted for industry and intelligence, rich and of a warlike temper and that the town was large and had an extensive commerce.”⁷⁷

Indeed, it appears to have had a large population of foreigners, Moslems, Parsis and Hindus, and this is, *perhaps*, the real meaning of the phrase *हंजमननगर पौरतृ वर्ग प्रभूतिश्च* which Buhler took to refer to “the three twice-born castes,”⁷⁸ which Telang, though coming after Buhler, said he could not understand,⁷⁹ and which Ervad Jivanji Mody has attempted to identify with the *three classes of Parsi Priests*, “Dasturs, Mobeds and Hirbads,” as if Parsi priests could have

74 Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 358.

75 Telang, Indian Antiquary, IX. 44.

76 A. V. Williams Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 150.

77 Elliot & Dowson, History of India, I. 85.

78 Ind. Antiquary, V. 280.

79 *Ibid.* IX. 38.

by any possibility been so numerous as to constitute the *entire population* of a large commercial town under a Hindu prince in the twelfth Christian century.⁸⁰ The truth is that Sanjan, like many other Thana ports at this period, gradually came to have a *very large non-Hindu population of different races and religions*.

Mr. S. M. Edwardes has put this very neatly in the 'Rise of Bombay.' "The Silharas seem to have fostered colonization and trade in the highest degree, and to have introduced into these sparsely populated islands a social and religious element hitherto unknown. Hindu, Musalman, Parsi, Persian, Arab, Jew and Chinaman all visited and settled in the Thana ports of their day or braved the dangers of the sea and they were not few. * * *. Ten thousand Persians and Arabs made their homes in Chaul, the Jews brought a living freight of women, eunuchs and boys by way of the Gulf to Chaul, Sanjan and Sopara."⁸¹

This is further shown by the name "Navteri Nagari" by which old Sanjan is still spoken of by the common people. "According to a story current at Dahanu and Umbargaon, Sanjan," says the Bombay Gazetteer, "was so large a city that it was called *Navteri Nagari*, or the city that measured nine *koss* by thirteen."⁸² Nine *koss* by thirteen indeed! An area of 468 square miles!!

It is needless to say that this is only an instance of meaning-making and folk etymology. The real signification is probably "Town of the *Naváyats*"—new comers, foreigners, especially "descendants of Arab and Kufi Settlers." Let us see what *Hobson-Jobson*—one of the finest productions of Anglo-Indian scholarship—can tell us about the matter. "Navait, Naitea, Nevayat, a name given to Mahomedans of mixed race in the Concan and S. Canara. This is apparently a Concani word connected with Sanscrit 'Nava'—'new' and implying converts." Castanheda is then quoted to show that they were "Sons of Moors and gentile mothers," and Purchas made to bear witness that they were "mesticos of mixed seed, of Moor fathers and Ethnike mothers." The high authority of Wilks also

80 *Ibid.* XLI. 175.

81 Rise of Bombay, 7.

82 Bom. Gaz. XIV. 301. Note.

is adduced to prove⁸³ that they were "the descendants of the early Arab emigrants from Kufa who landed on that part of the Western Coast of India called the Concan."⁸⁴ Ferishta is even more explicit. "The Mahomedans," he says, "extended their dominions in Malabar; and many of the Princes and inhabitants becoming converts gave over the management of some of the sea-ports to the strangers whom they called *Nawáyits* (literally, the New Race)."⁸⁵ I may add that the historian Mas'udi informs us that "the sailors of Siraf and Oman who were constantly on this sea and visited various nations in the islands and on the coast" were called *Nawájdah*, نواجدة.⁸⁶ In a word Sanjan was called *Nauteri Nagari*, "Town of the Navayats," just as Old Kayal was named "Sonagar or Jonagar, a Tamil corruption of *Yavanar*, the Yavanas, the name by which Arabs were known, and the name most commonly used in the Tamil country to designate the mixed race descended from Arab colonists, who are called *Mapillas* on the Malabar coast, and *Lubbies* in the neighbourhood of Madras."⁸⁷

83 Historical Sketches, I. 243.

84 Yule, and Burnell, Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke, s. v; see also Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. 232, XIV. 303.

85 Briggs, Ferishta, IV. 533.

86 Mas'udi, Meadows of Gold, Sprenger, 277.

87 Caldwell's ms. note in Yule, Marco Polo, ed. Cordier, II. 372. This parallel from an unexpected quarter is as interesting as it is instructive and almost settles the question. The grave-stone about eight hundred years old with an undeciphered Kufic inscription which has been found at Sanjan is certainly "a trace of the Arab merchants and Kufic settlers whose descendants are still found as *Navaiyats* forming a separate class at *Sanjan*, Sopara and other Thana coast towns." Bombay Gazetteer, XIV. 303.

THE KISSAH-I-SANJAN.

FOREWORD.

In the eight hundred and sixty-four lines of the *Kissah-i-Sanjan*, we have, committed to writing for the first time, the traditional account of the Flight and first adventures of those ancestors of the Indian Parsis, who abandoning almost every thing dear on earth for the sake of their pure and ancient Faith, sought refuge on the shores of Hindustan.

Of the writer, Bahman Kaikobad Hamjiar Sanjana, we know little except that he put the finishing touch upon his verses on the day Khordad, of the month Farwardin, in the year 969 A. Y. (A. C. 1600), that he was already considerably advanced in age at the time and that he came of a family noted for its literary tastes and aptitude for the composition of Persian verse. Bahman's father Kaikobad Hormazdyar or Hamjiar, whose "heart delighted only in calling the Iranshah to mind," appears to have been a leader among the Sanjáná priests settled in Navsari and is mentioned *immediately after* the famous Dastur Hoshang Asa himself in the Ravayet of Kaus Mahiyar, A. Y. 970 (A. C. 1601). Bahman's brother, Vekji Kaikobad is similarly the second man of note (the first being Dastur Shapur Hoshang—Hoshang Asa's son) included in the superscription of the Ravayets of Bahman Aspandiar (A. Y. 996—A. C. 1626-7).

Moreover, Darab Hormazyar to whom we are indebted for the first systematic classification of the valuable traditional knowledge—theological, casuistical, ceremonial and liturgical—embodied in the Persian Ravayets, was one of his grand-nephews. Darab himself was not devoid of some skill in verse as is proved by his metrical version of the Minokherad. (West, Sacred Books of the East, XXIV. Introduction, pp. xxiii-iv) Lastly, the famous Dastur Burzo Kamdin Kaikobad, whose name occurs several times in the Ravayets from A. Y. 996 to A. Y. 1039 (A. C. 1626—1670) was also the son of a brother of Bahman's.

It may be as well to mention here that Dastur Barzo Kamdin's reputation was not confined to the adherents of his own faith. It appears from a passage in the *Dabistan*, which on account of the blundering ignorance of the Mahomedan scribe *has not, to my knowledge, attracted the attention of any Parsi scholar*, that Barzo was personally known to the author, whoever he was, of that remarkable work.

Adverting to the question of the birthplace of Zoroaster, he says that he had been told by Mobed *Tarrau of Búsáwari* in Gujarat, that Zoroaster was really born, not in Azarábádgan, but at Rai.* I have little doubt that the true reading of the personal name is *Barzo*, and of the place-name *Navsari*, and that the priestly informant of the author of this seventeenth century Cyclopaedia of Religions was Dastur Barzo Kamdin Kaikobad Sanjana who was alive at the time and who died, according to an old *Disapothi*, in Samvat 1732 (A. C. 1676).†

An English translation of the *Kissah-i-Sanjan* was made in 1844 at the suggestion of Dr. John Wilson by E. B. Eastwick and published in the first volume of the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. Eastwick's manuscript which is now in the Wilson Collection of our University Library, was far from correct and his version is full of errors to which it would be ungracious and unprofitable to draw pointed attention after the lapse of so many years. A more correct version in Gujarati had been printed along with other pieces in a volume of very unequal merit by Dastur Framji Aspandiarji⁹ Rabadi in 1831. The *Kissah* is, with all its faults, so indispensable to all serious students of the early history of our people that I have ventured to offer another rendering, in which I have attempted to adhere as closely to the text as the genius of the two languages and the frequent obscurity and other defects of Bahman's style would permit.

I have not thought it necessary to encumber this translation with textual notes or various readings, but it may be perhaps as well as to say that I have relied for the most part on a copy of the

*Dabistan, Persian Text, (Calcutta), p. 123 : Shea & Troyer I. 263-4.

† This *Disapothi* belongs to Errad Mahiyar Navroji Kutar.

Kissah appended to a valuable Autograph Manuscript of Dastur Darab Hormazdyar's Ravayet written in A. Y. 1049 (A. C. 1680), which is in my own possession. I have also had before me the Manuscript which Eastwick used, and the lithographed text which has been reproduced (not very correctly, I regret to say), from a later autograph copy of the same Ravayet belonging to Ervad M. R. Unwala.

IN PRAISE OF THE UNITY OF THE CREATOR EXALTED.

In the name of the Wise and Most Holy Lord, whose praises I sing with all my soul every moment. Him I thank profusely night and day, for my spirit rejoices only when grateful to Him. In season and out of season, I do nothing but repeat His name, for He is of the universe Eternal King. He only is puissant and mighty everlastingly and the eyes of His slaves have the gift of vision (*lit.* are seeing) only through Him. He is in all places our refuge and our protector, the forgiver of our transgressions and the acceptor of our apologies. He has always hearkened to our grievances and it is He who has given us wisdom and shown unto us [the path of] Faith. Cherisher of the stranger and Sovereign of the Universe, pardoner of the sins and overlooker of the backslidings of mankind, He is our Eternal Guide, the companion of our private hours and the resolver of our difficulties. Thou hast, [O Lord], perfect power over creation, Thou only art Ruler Absolute and thy Kingdom only is never-fading. Thou art the Lord of Lords, marvellous, peerless and without a second. By Thy might, thou fashionest out of clay the figure of a man and then instillest into it the joyous and gladsome soul. Thou conveyest the seed from the spinal column unto the matrix and it is Thou who delineatest upon the [seminal] fluid the picture [of humanity].

It is Thou who hast given body and form to the germ and implanted therein the Macrocosm (*lit.* the World) itself. Thou hast given unto man not only a tongue for outward [expression], but an inner sense likewise. Two eyes hast Thou bestowed upon him for seeing, two ears for hearing and a tongue for speech, which may revolve in Thy praise like a wheel. A nose Thou hast endowed him with for appreciating pleasant odours, and feet for standing [erect] in prayer. Thirty-two pearls hast Thou linked together in a row and imparted the sense of taste also to our mouths. So perfectly does Thy Creation coincide with the

first design on Thy Tablets¹ that one would stake (*lit.* give) life itself on the perfection of Thy art. It is Thou who hast instilled sorrow into the hearts of lovers and the joy and luxury of grief are also Thy gift. Thou hast built up both worlds out of Nothing and it was Thou who madest Man superior to the Angels.² Deity Supreme is befitting without question only to Thee, and of all things Wisdom has borne witness to Thee only. Whenever I give Thee boundless thanks, it is my tongue that is honoured thereby. Love of Thee hath thrown its halter (*lit.* cord) around my neck and I must perforce run wherever I am dragged in its train (*lit.* noose). Nor can I help obeying the behests of the Lord who has cast us hither and thither according to His will. Of Everlasting Existence no one is worthy except God, for He only is without His like. The entire Creation has proceeded from Thee ; to the cosmos hast Thou given this form out of Wisdom. Thou madest Adam out of clay and inscribed [upon his forehead] the name of Thy Vicegerent.³ Thou only dost not admit of change ; Thou art also He who taketh us by the hand. No one else is like Thee, nor dost Thou resemble any one. All that exists has proceeded out of Thee. Earth and Sky are Thy handiwork, and the children of Adam Thou hast made the Glory (*lit.* ornament) of creation.

Bahman has set his face towards Thy presence-gates ; keep Thou his heart enlightened in this world. Replenish it with the Good Religion and release him (*lit.* his head) from the bonds of sorrow. Keep him ever abounding in faith and render out of Thy bounty his soul full of the light [of the spirit]. Save Thou, I possess no patron and in both worlds

1. The 'doxology' is a stereotyped feature of all lengthy poetical compositions among the Arabs and Persians and Bahman while imitating those models, employs here, as in some other places, phraseology which is Musulman, not Zoroastrian. *cf.* Quran, Sura. VI. 38. "There is no kind of beast on earth, nor fowl which flieth with its wings, but the same is a people like unto you : we have not omitted anything in the *book of our decrees*," that is, "the Preserved Table, wherein God's decrees are written and all things which come to pass in the world, as well the most minute as the more momentous are exactly registered." Sale, Koran, 10-1-2 note.
2. *cf.* "And when we said to the angels, 'Bow down and worship Adam,' then worshipped they all save Iblis." Quran, Sura II. 32. Rodwell, 341.
3. *cf.* Quran, Sura II. 28. "When Thy Lord said to the angels, 'Verily I am about to place *one in my stead on earth*,' they said, 'Wilt thou place there one who will do ill there in and shed blood, when we celebrate Thy praise and extol Thy holiness? God said, 'Verily, I know what you know not.' Rodwell, 340.

my hopes are all in Thee. O Master loving-kind, Thou hast pardoned my faults and my tongue is for ever weighing epithets [in Thy praise]. Thou hast succoured my worthless soul and graciously shown favour unto Thy slave. To whom shall I turn if Thou cast'st me off, to whom shall I flee, for Thou hast no compeer. [Lord], I am ashamed of the imperfection of my words [in Thy praise], for this sort of learning [*i.e.* poetry] has not fallen to my lot. I have come before Thee apologising [for my shortcomings] for Thine is the Kingdom for ever. O Thou who upholdest the Universe, lift me up [also], for I am thy thrall, humble as the dust of the earth. Never shall I make aught but Thy doorway my Kibla (*i.e.* address my prayers to any one but Thee). Tell me only what I shall choose that it may be good in Thy sight (*lit.* to Thee), and which may bestead (*lit.* go with) me in the Life [Beyond], for this yokefellow of mine (*i.e.* the physical body), I know, will not wend with me there. In the end, the rolling spheres will turn me to dust [like every thing else]; why then should I have any dread or fear of Death? Give me but to utter with my tongue the Ashem Vohu* at the moment when my soul is about to take its way to Paradise and whenever my spirit departs from its body, do Thou show unto me an angel and make one of the Holy Guardian Spirits⁵ befriend my soul, so that it may be glorified (*lit.* receive light).

Gracious Lord, forgive for Thy Mercy's sake, any sins that may have been by me committed unwittingly (*lit.* secretly). Indeed, what excuses can *old* Bahman urge before Thy tribunal, for [he knows] he has been very remiss in Thy service. Forgive his offences notwithstanding and exonerate his soul from its secret lapses. Accept, O Lord,

4. *cf.* "A time may be when the merit of one Ashem Vohu is as much as the value (*qimat*) of this world and that other world," and "that [*Ashem Vohu*] whose nature is as much as this world and that other world is when they recite it at the time of the dissolution of life, for if he be not able to recite it himself, friends and relations give it into his mouth. If he be fit for hell, he becomes fit for the Ever-Stationary, and if he be fit for the Ever-Stationary, he becomes fit for Heaven and if he be fit for Heaven he becomes fit for the Supreme Heaven". Saddar, LXXX. 5, 10-11. West, Sacred Books of the East, XXIV. 344. See also M. R. Unvala's Lithographed edition of Darab Hormazdyar's Ravayet, I. 18.

5. *Farohar* (Av. *Fravashi*). "Embryonic or immaterial existences, the prototypes, spiritual counterparts or guardian angels of the spiritual or material creatures afterwards produced." West, Note on Bundahish, I. 8: Sacred Books of the East. V. 5.

these utterances and fervent prayers, for I have beheld Thy wondrous works of every sort. Lord, Thou knowest my [most] secret thoughts, why then dost Thou toss me thus about on fruitless errands? [I know that] in this world our salvation can come from Thee only; wherefore then should I look for my redemption from others? *My youth hath departed and old age arrived* and my straight cypress (*i.e.* erect stature) is lifting its head heavenwards. *Old Bahman* is the humblest of the humble; be Thou his friend and take him by the hand on all occasions. Thou only art my Judge in both worlds, Thou only my help in feebleness and old age. Wash off from my eyes the sleep of ignorance, O Lord, and turn Thou my face towards knowledge (*lit.* wakefulness). Do not, O beneficent Sovereign, take me away in the state [of sin] in which I am. Nothing save transgression can come out of man; lead Thou me towards Thyself along [the path of] Faith. I have been groaning thus piteously at Thy gate only that Thou mayest not reckon my name among the sinners. Wert Thou but to show Thy slave any favour, his head would be exalted in both worlds. I have set my heart (*lit.* face) on meditation of Thee and repeatedly turned my thoughts towards Thee. I now beseech Thee, who art the Judge of our needs and our prayers that Thy Mercies (*lit.* wonders) may be made manifest to me.

NARRATIVE OF THE COMING OF FIVE MEN OF THE GOOD FAITH FROM
KHORASAN TO INDIA.

Hearken now to a wondrous tale (*lit.* a wonder among tales) recounted by Mobeds and ancients. Were I to tell it [at length], no description would be adequate, and no paper sufficient for the writing thereof. Therefore will I select but a portion and say but one word out of a hundred. I have heard it from a wise Dastur who was ever renowned for goodness. May the Dastur whose name is Hoshang and whose wisdom had always great excellence live long.⁶ The Zend and the Avesta likewise he had studied and driven away all Evil Spirits

6. This couplet is left out in some copies, but I have found it in at least *three old and good Manuscripts* and M. Huart of the Bibliotheque National has borne witness to its occurrence in Anquetil du Perron's copy of the *Kissak*. (*LV, Suppl. Persan. 200*). There can be no doubt, therefore, of its genuineness. See Mody, *A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis*. 4 note. Anquetil, *Le Zend Avesta*, Tome I, Pte. ii. xxxiv.

from himself. He was manifestly the Dastur (*ayyân*, evidently, plainly) of the city and from him the Faith had always become full of lustre. In those times, his authority was exercised over all (*i. e.* his commands were obeyed by all) and he managed many spiritual affairs. Every one who took counsel with him on the mysteries of the Faith acted according to his advice in matters of religion. In the town in which he was the preceptor, the hearts and souls of his disciples were delighted with him.⁷ He repeated to me this tale in the words of the ancients and discovered to me the hidden secrets of the Righteous. He narrated this story to us one day and strung the pearls of history with skill. May the Dastur who told me this tale have virtue everlastingly for his fellow. I repeat the story as he told it and relate the [hitherto] unknown deeds of the People of the Good Faith.⁸

⁹ The saintly Zoroaster showed us the true path in Religion in the days when king Gushtasp lived. He had described in the Avesta all the stages (*lit.* states) through which his Faith would pass and said : " A Tyrant will appear ; three times will the Good Creed be shattered and the People of the Faith ruined and worsted. That conqueror will be named Sitamgar¹⁰ [the Tyrant] and by him will the Religion of Virtue be reduced to despair. Give heed then unto what I now say of the Faith's doings." Every thing happened as he had spoken and the People of the Good Faith groaned and made moan. Sikandar (Alexander the Great), came at last upon them and publicly burnt

7. or "he cordially delighted in teaching his pupils."

8. I have discussed the significance of this passage in a foregoing paper, "Jâdi Rana and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan."

9. The writer here follows pretty closely the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht. II. 15-22. West, *Sacred Books of the East*. V. 198-201. See the Persian translation of the same in M. R. Unvala's lithographed text of Darab Hormazdyar's *Revayet*, II. 86-88.

10. Alexander the Great is supposed by some to be referred to in the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (II, 19) as *Akandgar-i-Kilisiyahikih*. Darmesteter suggested that " 'Skandgar' (Av. *Skendo-Kura*, Pers. *Sikandgar*) 'causer of destruction' would be an appropriate punning title for Alexander from the Persian point of view." West, on the other hand, thinks that *Akandgar* is probably a miswriting of *Alaksandar* or *Sikandar*. *Sacred Books of the East*, V. 200 note. Others, again, are of opinion that there is no reference whatever to Alexander in the above passage. However that may be, Bahman Kaikobad's "Sitamgar" (*oppressor*) can be nothing else than "a punning title" for the great Macedonian.

the scriptures of the Creed,¹¹ which was despised for three hundred years¹² and the Faithful were oppressed. Then after a time¹³, a Defender of the Faith appeared and Ardeshir seized the kingdom. Then once more the Good Religion revived and in the world became of good report. He got Arda-i-Viraf sent to the Presence Divine for [securing] a description of the World of Spirits. But after a time, the Evil Spirit again wrecked this [right] road and once more brought disruption into the Faith, of which evil reports arrived from all sides. When after a while¹⁴ king Shahpur appeared, he once more made it illustrious and Adarbad i-Mahrespand the Devout girded up his loins in its service. Seven kinds of metal (*lit.* brass) were molten together and poured upon his body [without doing him harm]. Thus did he resolve all the doubts of the Faithful and the Creed once more acquired lustre. From the times of Shahpur to those of Yazdagar it continued to receive honour and worship. Then the days [assigned] to Zoroaster by Time (Fate) came to an end and not a vestige of the Good Religion remained, [so that] when the Millennium of Zoroaster was over, the [happy days of] the Good Creed also reached their limit.¹⁵

When the sovereignty departed from Yazdagar, the Unbelievers¹⁶ came and seized his throne. From that period¹⁷ Iran was shattered. Alas for the land of the Faith which was rendered desolate. During those days¹⁸ all were dispersed, all (*lit.* every one) whose hearts were

11. See a brilliant note vindicating this statement of the Parsi books in Haug and Hoshangji, *Book of Arda Viraf*, 142-3.
12. Alexander the Great defeated Darius at Arbela in 331 B. C. and Ardeshir Papak's accession cannot be placed earlier than 226 A. C. There was therefore an interval of 557 years and not 300 between Alexander and the Sassanian. See Alberuni's remarks on this confusion in the Persian Chronology in the *Athar-al-Bakya*, tr. Sachau. 116—121. West, S. B. E. XLVII. Introduction, xxxii.
13. *Pas az wai Muddat*—Muddat is here employed to signify a period of three hundred years.
14. Here also the phrase is "*Pas az Muddat*." Ardeshir died in 241 A. C. Shahpur II reigned from 309 A. C. to 379 A. C. See, West, S. B. E. XLVII. xxxv.
15. The Millennium of Zoroaster and its termination are distinctly mentioned in the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, II. 23. West, *Sacred Books of the East*. V. 201.
16. *Juddin*. *lit.* People of another faith. The Arabs are meant.
17. Here again the phrase is *az-an-muddat*, an exceedingly vague expression which seems to be applied to a period of almost any length.
18. *Badingahi*. See the paper on the Traditional Dates of Parsi History, ante 8-9, for my view of the real signification of the whole passage.

attached to the Zend and Pazend. When all the laymen and Dasturs suddenly went into hiding for the sake of the Faith, they left their homes, dwellings, gardens, palaces and halls and abandoned them all for their Religion. In Kohistan, they abode for a hundred years. When they were in this plight, a virtuous sage once bethought him seriously [of their state] and said to his companions, "It will be difficult [for us] to remain here [much longer] for fear of the Unbelievers." So the Dasturs and laymen incomparable departed for the city of Hormuz.¹⁹ When fifteen years were spent in that clime, every one of them had endured much trouble from the Miscreants.²⁰ The sage Dastur who was with them there was a mighty astrologer. He looked into his ancient Tables [and said,] "The period during which we were [permitted by Fate] to eat and drink [in this land] has come to an end. It will be well if we leave this country. We must go out of this region forthwith, [otherwise] we shall all fall into a snare and prudence will then be useless and our business spoilt. It will be better therefore for us to fly from these fiends and Miscreants to Hindustan, and run away towards Ind for fear of life and religion's sake." Then a ship was made ready for the sea. Instantly they hoisted sail, *placed the women and children* in the vessel and rowed hard for Hind. When the ship came in sight of land, the anchor fell at Div. There they went down, took up their abode and their feet stuck

19. This is *not* the famous *island* of Hormuz, but the *old city* on the *main land*. "It was on the northern shore of the Persian Gulf, about 30 miles east of the site of Bunder Abbas or Gombroon. Sir Louis Pelly has traced the extensive ruins of the old city, which stand in the present district of Minao, about 6 or 7 miles from the fort of that name. 'Hormuz', says the Geographer Abul Feda, 'is the port of Kerman, a city rich in palms and very hot. One who has visited it in our days tells me that the ancient Hormuz was devastated by the incursions of the Tartars and that its people transferred their abode to an *island* in the sea called Zarun, near the Continent and lying west of the old city. At Hormuz no inhabitants remain but some of the lowest order (in *Busching*, IV. 261-2).'" Ibn Batuta also discriminates between Hormuz or Moghistan on the main land and New Hormuz on the island of Jerun. Yule, Marco Polo. ed. Cordier, I. 110-111. The name [Moghistan—the land of the Moghs—Fire-worshippers—is most instructive and significant.

20. *Darwand*, Av. *Dregwant* ; The Darwand, 'wicked', is the infidel who does not keep the Zoroastrian law. Haug and Hoshangji, *Book of Ardaviraf*, 178, note.

fast in the soil of that spot. The People of the Good Faith stayed there for nineteen years, at the end of which the Stargazer once more [sought to] divine the future. The aged Dastur having looked into his Tables, said : "O my enlightened friends, hence also must we hie to another spot in which will be our second home." All of them were delighted by his words and they set sail quickly towards Gujarat. When the vessel had made some way into the sea, a disastrous storm approached. All the Dasturs of the Faith were thrown into consternation and their heads turned as in a whirlpool.²¹ They rubbed their faces before the Presence Divine and stood up and made loud laments, [saying], "O Thou Wise One, come to our aid on this occasion (*lit.* business) and for once deliver us from this distress. [And] Thou, All-conquering Bahram, befriend us and bring us out triumphant from this trouble. [If we possess] Thy favour, we shall not care for the tempest and give no place to fear in our hearts. Hearken then to the complaints of the helpless and show Thou the way to us who are lost [in this waste of waters]. If we escape from this dreadful storm, (*lit.* whirlpool), if disaster does not confront us and if we reach the realm of Hind with cheerful hearts and merry, we shall kindle a great fire to Bahram. Deliver us then from this strait and keep us sound (*srong*). We are resigned to everything [that comes] from the Lord, for save Him we possess no other [friend]." By the blessing of the Fire of the Glorious Bahram, all of them luckily got over that trouble; their supplications were instantly heard and the Lord came to the rescue. A prosperous gale began to blow, the light of Heaven [to shine] and the contrary wind ceased. When the Captain with (*lit.* opened his tongue to utter) the Holy name of God upon his lips steered the ship with vigour, and all the Dasturs and laymen also made Kusti,²² the vessel drove instantly into the sea. Then Providence so ordered it that all those people arrived near Sanjan.

21. Or "they felt giddy in (or were stunned by) that calamity."

22. The "Kusti is tied round the waist in a peculiar manner during the recital of a particular formula in which Auharmazd is blessed and Ahreman and the demons are cursed." West's Note on Bundahish, XXX, 30, S. B. E. V. 129.

In that region was a virtuous Raja who had opened his heart (*lit.* head) to holiness. His name was Jádi Rana; he was liberal, sagacious and wise. A Dastur renowned for learning and prudence went to him with gifts and invoked blessings upon him and said: "O Raja of Rajas, give us a place in this city: we are strangers seeking protection who have arrived in thy town and place of residence. We have come here only for the sake of our Religion, for we heard that there was in this place a Raja descended from the beneficent Shillahrás,"²³ ever renowned throughout Hindustan, who gave people shelter in his town and kingdom and regarded them with the eye of compassion. We were cheered by these tidings (*lit.* thoughts) and have approached thee under favourable auspices. We have now reached thy city in the hope of escaping from the Miscreants." The hearts of all the followers (*lit.* men) of the virtuous Raja were gladdened and their souls charmed by these words. But when that prince beheld them²⁴, a terror suddenly fell upon his heart. Fears for his crown entered his mind and [he thought] that they might lay waste his kingdom. Frightened by their dress and accoutrements, he questioned the Dastur about their religious mysteries (*lit.* inner secrets). "O thou devout Dastur", he at last said, "Tell us, first of all, the gist of the matter (*lit.* the secret of the business). What are the customs of your Creed, which of them are open and which concealed²⁵? Let me first of all see what your beliefs are and we will then arrange for your residence here. Secondly, if we give you shelter, you must abandon the language of your country, disuse (*lit.* cast aside) the tongue of Iran and 'adopt the speech of the realm of Hind. Thirdly, as to the dress of *your women*, they should wear garments like those of our females. Fourthly, you must put off all your arms and scimitars and cease to wear them anywhere. Fifthly, when your children are wedded, the marriage knot must be tied at

23. I read *Shillahráyán*, not *Sháhráyán*, for the reasons stated in the paper on *Jádi Rana and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan*.

24. *Shan*, 'them', but it may also mean "dignity, stature."

25. *i. e.* outward professions as well as the really secret doctrines. Persecuted sects were often under the necessity of having two sets of opinions, one for home and the other "for foreign consumption."

evening time. If you first give a solemn promise to observe all this, you will be given places and abodes in my city." When the Dastur heard all this from the Raja, he could not help agreeing to all his demands.²⁶

Then the old Mobed addressed him thus, "O sagacious king, hearken now to what I say of our Creed. Do not be heavy-hearted on our account, for never shall any evil [deed] proceed from us in this land. We shall be the friends of all Hindustan and everywhere scatter the heads of thy foes. Know then for certain that we are the worshippers of Yazdān (One God) and have fled from the Miscreants only for our religion's sake. We have abandoned all we possessed and borne many hardships on the road. Houses and mansions and goods and chattels we have all forsaken, O auspicious prince. We strangers are of the seed of Jamshid and reverence the Sun and the Moon. Three other things also out of Creation²⁷, we hold in honour, viz. the Cow, Fire and Water. Thus we adore the Fire, Water, Cows and the Sun and the Moon likewise. It is the Lord who has created all those things that are on earth and we pray to them, because He Himself has preferred (*lit.* chosen) them.²⁸ Our sacred girdle (*Kusti*) is made of seventy-two threads and we repeat (*lit.* make) when we tie it on, solemn professions of Faith. Our women when in their manner behold not either the sun or the sky or the moon, because they are the sources of light in excelsis ;

26. There is evidently something wrong here. The Raja first says that he would not give them permission to reside in his territory, until he was satisfied of the unobjectionable character of their rites and doctrines. But without waiting to hear a word of explanation, he forthwith proceeds to dictate four conditions, the last of which—that relating to their marriage ceremonies—discovers an *unexpected* familiarity with their usages. If they were such utter strangers to him, how could he know such a *minor matter* as that their marriages were celebrated in the morning and not in the evening as with the Hindus? Can it be that the lines relating to the conditions have by some accident been misplaced and that they should come *after* the Dastur's harangue? It is perhaps also worthy of note that Bahman Kaikobad repeatedly avers that the first emigrants brought the *women of their own race* with them.

27. I read *Kiindash*. All the Ms have *Jāindash* or *Jāindash*, which is unintelligible to me.

28. or 'We pray to him who is Self-chosen or Self-Existent.'

nor do they touch fire or water. They stand strictly aloof from everything, whether during the radiant day or the darksome night and sit apart until the catamenia have ceased. They look at the fire and the sun only when they have washed from head [to foot]. So also, the female who gives birth to an infant must live apart for forty days. She ought to keep aloof [all the while] just as if she were in her manner and if this rule is not observed, it is vile. [Similarly], when a child is born of a woman before its time (*lit.* in a few months only) or when the babe is still-born, the mother (*lit.* she) does not [among us] go or run about hither and thither, nay does not even hold converse with any one. A female in that state also must keep severely aloof for forty-one days." All their other rites and customs also he described one by one to the Raja. When the mysteries of the Good Faith were thus expounded and the pearls of discourse strung in this most elegant manner, and when the Hindu Raja heard the oration, his mind regained perfect ease.

That good king forthwith commanded that they should reside in his dominions. Then some persons who were intelligent, good-natured and resourceful surveyed the land, discovered a spacious plain and informed the Mobed. A spot in this wilderness was chosen, of which the soil was excellent and there they made their abode. The people also liked the place and a city appeared where there had formerly been a jungle, desolate and uncultivated, but there they all descended, old as well as young. When the Dastur beheld that fine spot, he chose a site for their dwellings. The Dastur gave it the name of Sanjan and it was soon flourishing even as the realm of Iran. From that day the surname *Sanjana* came into vogue; know that the town is named *after them*." There they remained in joy and comfort and every one prospered in the end according to his wish.

One day,³⁰ they happened to have some business with the Raja, and all of them went with cheerful hearts (*lit.* thoughts)

29. Strangely inconsistent not only with the statement in the first hemistich of the same couplet but also with fact.

30. Note that there is nothing here which can support Dr. Mody's assumption as to *five years* having elapsed between the landing and the consecration of the Fire temple. All that Bahman says is that they went to the Raja *one day after they were settled in the town*.

to him. The Dastur then addressed him thus: "O Prince, you have given us a dwelling spot in this land. We now wish to install in the Indian clime the Fire of Bahram. [But] the land must be cleared for three farsangs, so that the ceremonies [connected with the consecration] of the Niragn may be duly performed. No alien should be there present, save and except the Wise Men of the Good Faith. No person belonging to another creed might be there. Then only will the Fire be consecrated. If any strange person make a noise there, the religious rites will doubtless, be all of a sudden interrupted." Quoth the Raja then, "I have given you the permission. I am disposed to be very liberal in this matter. I rejoice (*lit.* prefer, choose) with all my soul that such a Prince (*shāh*) should be installed in my time. Indeed O sage, than this [act] what can be better? Go then speedily after his business, and gird up thy loins." That very instant, the Prince issued his commands and gave the Dastur a pleasant site. The Hindu Rana jādi had the land at once cleared on every side. All the Unbelievers within three Farsangs were removed and no one remained there except the People of the Good Faith. No one dwelt around within three Farsangs of it, and no one stayed there save Zoroastrians (*lit.* men) of knowledge. Round the *Aurvis-gāh*, on all sides [stood] Dasturs, every one of whom shone, in virtue of his sanctity, like the sun himself. They watched there day and night, for to do so was the command of the Lord. In those days, they were all men full of knowledge and capable in matters relating to the Faith. For several days and months they recited Yazashnes and Yashts

31. *Farsang*. A measure of length which varies considerably according to different authorities. It is sometimes said to be equivalent to a league, sometimes to 12000 cubits or 18000 feet. For the different estimates, see Alberuni, India, W. Sachau, II. 69-8; Elliot and Dowson, History of India, I. 24, Ain-i-Akbari, tr. Jarrett, II. 415-6 note. Pietro Della Valle says a *Cor* is half a *Farsang* or league of Persia and that a *Cor* will answer to a little less than two Italian [English] miles. *Vorsages*, ed. Grey, I. 23.

32. *Nirang*, "The ceremony relating to the preparation of the *gomēs*, Cow's urine, which is used as the most efficacious means of purification." Haug and Hoshangji, *Book of Arda Viraf*, 147 note.

33. *Arvisgah* or *Aurvisgah*. "The consecrated space within which the Yazashna ceremony is performed." West supposes the word to be derived from the Av. *Urvesa*, *goal*. Note on *Dadistan-i-Dinih*, XLVIII. 13. *Sacred Books of the East*, XVIII. 163.

and worked with great energy. The laymen also were preoccupied in the business and provided, out of [their zeal for] the Faith, all various things necessary. The Prince Jádi Rana also sent offerings of every sort. In those days, all the arts and industries (*lit.* workshops) were in the hands of the People of the Good Faith. Things were everywhere easy for them for they had brought along with them all the tools (or means) from Khorasan. With all those resources derived from Khorasan, they were able to accomplish their task without any trouble. The reason was that several parties of Dasturs and Laymen of holy lives had also arrived at that spot. In their company were several alchemists also and the favour of the Lord thus made things easy for them. They had brought along with them ample resources and they thus consecrated the Fire according to the dictates of religion. The aged Dasturs thus installed the *Iranshah* ³⁴ beaming with light, in conformity with the rites [prescribed] in our creed. In those times, men were [deeply] versed in spiritual matters and were able to observe religious precepts on account of their wisdom. In our own age, the Lord only knows what True Religion is ; [men do not], and [all religious] action is, [after all], only a matter of personal satisfaction.³⁵

All the laymen and Dasturs then celebrated in that land an extraordinary festival with entertainments. In this way, *three hundred years, more or less*, passed away and the people in small numbers or large, left the place. They dispersed in the land of Hind in all directions, and selected places to their minds. Some turned their faces towards Bānkāner, others fell off towards Broach, a few went away in the direction of Bariāv. All hastened towards diffeaend spots. Some reached the town of Anklesar or walked away proudly to the city of Cambay. Others dragged all their goods and chattels to Navsari, with pleasure and

34. "The Prince or Lord of Iran" [Persia]. The ancient Fire now lodge at Udwađa is still known by this name.

35. The whole passage is most significant and throws, when read side by side with the Persian Ravayets, considerable light on the history of the Indian Atash Beherams.

good luck. Wherever any one felt [himself] comfortable, there he made his home. In this manner were spent *two hundred years* in joy, prosperity and quiet. In those times, several Dasturs' houses were left in Sanjan town. *One of God's Judgments then came down upon them*, but I do not know what became of all those Dasturs, (or where all of them went). There dwelt one virtuous Dastur, young, well-intentioned and fluent of speech. The name of that Dastur was Khushmast and his aspirations were always towards virtue. A son [he had], who bore the name of Khujastah and whose [sole] delight was the performance of the ceremonies of the *Bāi*³⁶ and the *Barsam*³⁷. His perpetual avocation was the celebration of the Yazashne, and the Bāj and the Barsam were his constant companions. He was so deeply versed in the Yazashne that he has still left his mark in the *Aurvisgāh* (i.e. he is still remembered there). That saintly person lived in good repute [on earth]; may he possess joy and bliss in Paradise [also].³⁸ In this manner, *seven hundred years* went by and many of their descendants had lived in that town. When several years passed over, the heavens became untoward, the world suddenly became strait unto them and Time (Destiny) resolved to take their lives.

36. *Baj*. "This kind of prayer, Av. *Vāk*, a word or phrase, Pah. *Vāj*, Pers. *Bār*, is a short formula, the beginning of which is to be muttered in a kind of whisper, or (*according to the Pahlavi idiom*) 'is to be taken' and 'retained' inwardly (as a protection while eating, praying or performing other necessary acts) by strictly abstaining from all conversation until the completion of the act, when the prayer or *Vāj* is to be spoken out, that is, the conclusion of the formula is to be uttered aloud, and the person is then free to speak as he likes." West, Note on *Shayest-la-Shayest*, III, 6, Sacred Books of the East, V. 278.

37. The *Barsam*—"Av. *Baresma* or bundle of sacred twigs is an indispensable part of the ceremonial apparatus; it is held in the hand of the officiating priest while reciting many parts of the liturgy and is frequently washed with water and sprinkled with milk. It consists of a number of slender rods varying with the nature of the ceremony but usually from five to thirty-three. These rods were formerly twigs cut from some particular trees but now thin metal wires are generally used." West's note on *Dadistan-i-Dinik*, XLIII, 15. S. B. E. XVIII. 142.

38. Eastwick says with some reason of the lines placed between asterisks, that they are very obscure and appear entirely unconnected. J. B. B. R. A. S. I. 181. But see the paper on the Traditional Dates of Parsi History, 12—14 ante.

SHAH MAHMUD SENDS AN ARMY AGAINST THE RAJA OF SANJAN, WHO
HEARS OF THE SAME.

When some years had passed by in the revolution of the spheres, the Shah came to know of the Raja in Sanjan.* Islam reached Chapaner some time after *five hundred years* had expired in India. A good and fortunate Shah appeared and sat on the throne in that city. They used to call him Sultan Mahmūd and his subjects spoke of him as the Shadow of the Glorious Lord. When he was informed some years afterwards, (*i. e.* after his accession to the throne) that there was in Hindustan a Raja somewhere near (*lit.* in the direction of) Sanjan, one of the Vazirs spoke thus to Alf Khan;³⁹ "The victorious king commands that you should speedily set out with an army for Sanjan and wrest the country from the Raja." At the command of the Sultan Mahmūd, Alf Khan rushed forth like smoke, got all his soldiers instantly ready and let his eagle [standard] fly in the air. Then, he led forth his troops and arrived at the prosperous town of Sanjan. When the Hindu Raja heard of his troops, and learnt that he had brought together from all quarters a host of thirty thousand chosen horsemen,⁴⁰ each of whom had two mounts,⁴¹ and who were all heroes in battle and [cavaliers] of renown, he was terror-stricken by the tidings. But he regained his senses in an hour and immediately summoned all the Mobeds, Hirbads and laymen.⁴² The virtuous Raja then said to them, "What do you now propose to do, O my faithful friends? My ancestors have patronised you and always been good

39. The name can be read Alaf Khan as well as Ulugh Khan.

40. Eastwick has *two thousand* in his translation. Journal B. B. R. A. S. I. 182. Anquetil puts the number at *Soixante mille*. Le Zend Avesta, Tom. I. i. 321. *Si-hazar* (*thirty thousand*) is so likely to be mistaken in Persian for *Sih-hazar* (*three thousand*) that the latter is, as likely as not, to have been what Bahman himself wrote. Bahmanji Patell also understood the words to mean *three thousand*. *Parsi Prakash*, 4.

41. '*Duaspah*.' "A trooper is called '*Duaspah*' if he has two horses and *Sihaspah*, if three, in order to change horses during *elghars* or forced marches." Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*. (Tr.). I. 241. See also Irvine, *Army of the Moguls*, 23.

42. Dasturs, Mobeds and Hirbads are the three classes of Zoroastrian priests, the first being the highest.

to you. Gird up your loins, all of you, then, in my service (*lit.* business) and take you the lead in the battle. If you acknowledge the obligations you owe to my forbears, do not forget the duty (*lit.* bring your head out) of gratitude." Then the ancient Mobed made answer, "Do, not, O Raja, be heavy-hearted on account of this host. So long as even one of us is alive, the heads of a hundred thousand [of thy] foes will we scatter. Verily, such is our wont in battle and so long as we are in life, such is our worth. Not a single individual from among us will turn back even were a millstone to whirl upon his head." The Prince on hearing this speech, bestowed upon him a suit of honour of every sort⁴³. In those days, there were several warlike (*lit.* worthy, fit to fight) males of the Good Faith, old as well as young. When they were all reckoned, fourteen hundred were entered on the rolls. Forthwith they saddled their steeds, the drums were beaten and the horsemen stood up. Then all the men of the Good Faith drew themselves up in line with the Raja's forces in the battle field.

ALF KHAN FIGHTS WITH THE HINDU RAJA AND FLIES BEFORE ARDESHIR.

When the first white [streak of] light emerged (*lit.* showed) from the sable night and the sheen of the stars descended into the bottom of the abyss (*lit.* cave), Alf Khan and his horsemen put on their armour and approached the field. Embroidered (*lit.* jewelled, inlaid) saddles were placed on the chargers and banners on the backs of the elephants. The horses were harnessed for fight and the battle-field was

43. I take this to mean a complete suit, *i. e.* of seven pieces. "There were," says Irvine, "five degrees of *khilat*", those of three, five, six or seven pieces. * * A three piece *khila't* given from the *Khila't-khanah* consisted of a turban (*dastar*), a long coat with very full skirts (*jamah*) and a scarf for the waist (*kamarband*). A five piece robe came from the *Toshah khanah* (*storehouse for presents*), the extra pieces being a turban ornament (*Sarpeck*) and a band for laying across the turban (*Balaband*). For the next grade, a tight fitting jacket with short sleeves called a Half-sleeve (*Nimak-astin*) was added. A European writer, Tavernier, (*Ball, I, 163*) thus details the seven-piece *Khilat*; (1) cap, (2) a long gown (*Kabak*), (3) a close-fitting coat (*arkalon*) which I take to be *alkhalig*, a light coat, (4) two pairs of trousers, (5) two shirts, (6) two girdles, (7) a scarf for the head or neck." Army of the Moguls. 29. See also Yule and Burnell, Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke, S. V. Killut.

crowded by the elephants.** The captains marshalled their troops in battle array and the fighting gear was everywhere held ready. When that great host was drawn up in the plain, the brazen bugles were at once blown. Thus was arrayed a host on either side, one [belonging to] the Moslems and the other to the Hindu Raja. Day and night were astounded at the sight, and even the horses were exhausted by over-much galloping. The leaders on the two sides were as two water-dragons struggling with each other with the fury of tigers. The earth grew dark as pitch with the clouds from which rained swords and spears and darts. So many were slain of both ranks in that strife that there were everywhere heaps of slain. There was no one to hearken to their moans nor any one to help them, for such was the Eternal Judge's doom against them. Not a man could be seen from among that host; all appeared to have fallen without discrimination in the action. Suddenly, there was a rout in the Hindu ranks, so that no one could recognise another in the encampment. Then a devout Layman of the Good Faith said to his comrades : "I do not behold, either in front or rear, so much as one of our Indian allies. The Hindus have fled from the field. No one save ourselves of the Good Faith remains on the battle ground. Now is the hour of combat, O my dear friends, now does it behove us to march in line of battle like lions. If we all rush upon them in a body, we shall surely pour out the blood of the foe with sword and arrow." The Layman who was the first to enter the field was one who bore among them the name of Ardeshir. That very moment, the renowned Ardeshir spurred his swift courser into the field. Springing all of a sudden, he came up to the [Moslem] ranks clutching an iron spear. Then he stood up in the arena, javelin in hand, clad in armour and girding a sword. And first, the arrows rained everywhere, the corslets of the warriors were pierced and the world-illuminating sun was so hidden from view that no one could tell (*lit.* know) if it was day or night. The eyes of the luminary were blinded (*lit.* covered) by the dust, and everywhere man fell upon man; you might say that the earth had a coat of pitch out of which

44. Or 'The field seemed too narrow on account of the fighting of the elephants.'

the arrow heads glistened like diamonds. At last, of the throwers of spears and wielders of maces, but few remained [alive] out of thousands, and though land and sky grew black and gloomy, the soil was, by the blood of the chiefs, dyed red like the tulip. [Indeed], the blood gushed out of their bodies as from fountains and their bucklers were, by the blades, shattered into fragments. Men's armours then became the calamities of their lives. Every minute, men were becoming the guests of Death (*lit.* Time)⁴⁵ and the [dead] warriors buried from head to foot in iron [mail] were blazing like the shining sun. Shafts kept flying on both sides and blood was flowing along the black soil. Javelins penetrated (*lit.* dug into) breasts and bosoms and blood oozed out from coats of mail. But no one turned his face away from the blow of an adversary and every weapon was crying for blood.⁴⁶ The soil itself looked as if [it were made] of iron on account of the horse-shoes [with which it was bestrown]. Men were wading in blood upto their knees (*lit.* calves of the legs). The struggle lasted in this wise for three days and nights until men's hands and feet were weary. The sabres flashed like lightning on all sides and heads were scattered by the trenchant blades. The [might of] Islam was at last overthrown and destroyed in that engagement with the Hindu prince. Alf Khan ran away in the darksome night, forgetting his baggage and losing also the [right] road. Before Ardeshir, his entire army fled, now stumbling now picking themselves up. Many of the enemy fell into his grasp and he stood triumphant at the close. All the tents, baggage and furniture [also] came at once into the possession of Ardeshir.

ALF KHAN FIGHTS AGAIN WITH ARDESHIR AND IS VICTORIOUS.

When the sun rose from above the hills on *another* day, and the earth became once more resplendent with light, a great shout arose on either side of the two hosts. Once again the land was

45. This obscure line may also mean

'Time (Death) became the guest of mankind every moment.'

46. Or 'All the instruments of bloodshed were in requisition.'

in commotion and many were the heads which turned stupid on account of the noise of the bells and the Hindi trumpets. Once more Alf Khan was ready for fight and the drums resounded. When the famous Ardeshir beheld that host, he strode up swiftly and said forthwith to the well-advised Hindu Prince, "We are only one to their hundred. What do you think it [*lit. see*] good for us to do, now that a still larger force has arrived. [As for ourselves], we will either give up our own lives or take theirs, and stand [firm] on the battle field with that determination and the Lord will stand our friend, for He has always been the resolver of our difficulties." All of them were cheered by this speech and many hearts were thus delivered from sorrow. That instant, Ardeshir donned his coat of mail and once more came out to do battle with the Khan. Then Ardeshir the renowned rushed like a lion upon the ranks of the foe, with a lasso hanging by his saddle as on a squire errant's, a sabre of Indian [*steel*] at his girdle [*lit. waist*] and a javelin in his grasp. Then he proudly shouted aloud, "O lions! why were you so confounded [the other day] in the [hour of] fighting? Who now is your commander, what may be his name and what does he wish to have?" A champion advanced and said, "Here am I who can pour out the blood of [many] men at a [single] blow." Under him was a spirited (*lit. bounding*) charger and he came up at a gallop (*lit. run*) to do battle with Ardeshir, with a javelin in his hand and glaring on all sides like a drunken man. He hailed Ardeshir and said, "Now be on thy guard, O thou of stainless birth, for an adversary is before thee. Show then thy own skill or mastery." Ardeshir called out in reply, "Here is thy antagonist quite ready." Then the two fought like lions in the arena and as if they were weary of their own lives. In the end, Ardeshir vanquished him and hurled him down from the back of his steed. Then flinging the lasso and dragging him towards himself, he dismounted and struck off his head. When Alf Khan saw him slain, his heart was filled with woe. That instant, he gave orders that all the Parsis as well as the Raja should be slaughtered and that not one of them should be left alive. Longing for vengeance, he rushed to support his men-at-arms and the din of battle (*lit. the cry of "Give, Give"*) arose. Swords clashed

and blood flowed in rivers on land. When the troops on both sides joined battle, blood gushed from their bodies in torrents. It was as if a wave had rushed in from an ocean of gore. Everywhere men were [lying] exhausted. There was not room enough for even an ant to creep in. But what [avails it] if man proposes, unless God disposes [likewise]. Then Ardeshir dashed into the thick [of the fight] and his days came to an end. An arrow pierced his middle and came out on the other side. His body was enfeebled by wounds, for every one of his limbs was a fountain of blood. Then he tumbled down headlong from the saddle and his troops were thrown into disorder and confusion (*lit.* without feather or wing). Alas for that courageous chief, whom Time at last gave to the winds. When the Fates are angry, the hard stone becomes [soft] like wax. Though he fought and strove [with all his might], of what avail was it since Fortune had turned its face away from the man? On both sides, many warriors were slain, leaders and men of renown and worth. Then also was the Raja killed and a loud wail arose on the battle field. Alas for that Hindu prince who fell and whose city became on all sides a desert.

FLIGHT OF THE MEN OF THE GOOD FAITH TO THE HILL OF BAHROT
AND THEIR GOING TO BĀNSDĀH.

The People of the Good Faith also were dispersed. There is in Hindustan a hill named Bāhrot. Many crept into it to save their lives. Man has no resource against God's decrees. Twelve years thus passed and they had carried the *Irānshāh* along with them. After a time, by the Lord's command, they forgathered again with their relatives and kindred. Taking the Fire of Bahram also with themselves, all of them arrived at Bānsdāh. When the tidings reached that town, every one came out with loving kindness and three hundred horsemen with several persons of note went forward to escort them. They brought the Fire into the town with a hundred [marks] of reverence. It was as if a sick man had secured a panacea." Thence

47. *Pasahr Padsahr*, protecting from poison, an antidote, in which sense it is used habitually by Avicenna. Bezoars are hard concretions formed in the bodies of animals, to which antidotal virtues were ascribed, and especially to one obtained from the stomach of a wild goat in the Persian province of Lar. Ibn Baithar says that Bezoars were laid upon the bites of venomous creatures and were believed to extract the poison. Yule and Burnell, Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke, S. V. Bezoar.

forward, Bānsdāh flourished as if it was perpetual spring there. Time passed in this wise and persons of Behdin lineage, old men as well as women, came to adore the Irānshāh from every district in which there were [People of] that pure Creed. Just as, in earlier times, men used to go on a pilgrimage extraordinary (*lit.* unparalleled) to the far-famed Sanjan, so the Parsis now came to Bānsdāh from various places with numerous offerings. Afterwards, when fourteen years had elapsed,⁴⁸ the spheres [again] revolved [in a manner] favourable to their affairs.

DESCRIPTION OF THE CONVEYANCE OF THE FIRE OF BAHRAM TO NAVSARI

BY CHANGĀSHAH.

A layman then appeared who had not his peer at the time. He came forward in those days to preserve the religion and many notable things (*lit.* signs, marks) proceeded from him. He was the Dahyovad;⁴⁹ his name was Changa, son of Asa and he solaced the hearts of the People of the Good Creed. That good-natured man would not suffer the Faith to fall into neglect in those latter days. He gave money (*lit.* purse) out of his own wealth to those who had no *Sudra* and *Kushti* (the sacred shirt and girdle). Many [excellent] provisions that man made for the creed. No afflicted person [ever] went to him for whom, poor man, he did not provide some relief or whose heart he did not cordially set at ease. In those times, several Behdin People came into the Faith under his auspices (*lit.* by his good fortune.) Indeed, my tongue cannot fully (*lit.* plainly) praise this layman who managed the affairs of the creed so well. One year, that man of stainless birth went to the Firetemple in pursuance of a vow. It was the time of the Jashn-i-Sadah, and the Firetemple was then at

48. These lines have been by some taken to mean that twelve years were spent at Bahrot and fourteen others in Bānsdāh, making in all *twenty-six*. Others have understood Bahman to say that the *fourteen* years last spoken of include the preceding twelve, and that *fourteen* years express the extreme length of the period which intervened between the Sack of Sanjan and the establishment of the Fire temple at Navsari. See ante, p. 8.

49. Pahl. Dahyopat, Av. Danghu-paiti, chief ruler. Changa Asa's son Manak also is styled Dahyovad (Desai) in the Ravayet of Shapur Asa or Kama Asa of 896 A. Y., (1527 A. C.)

Bansdah. O brother, the Jashn-i-Sadah fell on Roz Adar, Mahi Adar.⁵⁰ That devout and enlightened *Dāwar*⁵¹ carried along with him several laymen and Dasturs. All of them prostrated themselves at the sight of the Fire and offered it worship. Every one then took once more the road [homewards] from the House of Prayer with pleasure and pride. Starting thence, the men returned to their homes full of gladness and joy. When *two or three months of that year*⁵² had elapsed, an idea occurred to (*lit.* he brought the idea into his heart) that benevolent person and he called a meeting of the whole community (*Anjuman*) and led the discourse on to the Fire-Temple. "I desire, O my well-wishers," he said, "to bring that Prince of Princes here. If we behold the face of that Lord every day, our religious merit will be exceeding great. Moreover, we have to endure great hardships every year on the journey, for there is heavy rain during that month,"⁵³ [Adar], and it is difficult for us to go there then. What can be better, O friends, than that we should proceed to Bānsdāh with some men of discernment, and bring here the Fire of the glorious Bahram, so that we can view it every day. Our means of livelihood [are sure] by its blessing to grow much more abundant and the hearts also of the People

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50. Bahman seems to have thought that the Jashn-i-Sadah of the ancient Iranians was identical with what is now called *Adar Jashn*, but Alberuni declares that the former fell, not on the ninth day of *Adar*, but on the tenth of *Bahman*. *Athar-ul-Bakyaḥ*, Chronology of Ancient Nations, tr. Sachau. 213 and 424. The *Burhan-i-Kataa* says the same. S. F. Sadah.
51. The *Dawar*. "Pahl., *Datobar*, upholder of Justice or Judge was, like the Dastur, a *ratu*, head or chief in the old Zoroastrian community. He appears to have held a high rank which was probably hereditary, as it is still claimed by a Parsi family at Surat, though not acknowledged by the majority." Haug and Hoshangji, *Book of Arda Viraf*. 143 note. See also *Parsi Prakash*, 15, 70.
52. Bahman declares here that the Iranshah was brought to Navsari two or three months after the Adar Jashn, that is, the event must have taken place, making allowance for the days passed in negotiations and the journey from Bansdah, in the month of *Farvardin*. This will be a hard nut to crack for those who pin their faith in Bahman's chronology and at the same time uphold the reliability of the traditional date, Roz Mahrespand, Mahi *Shahrevan*, Samvat 1475. The truth is that the two are absolutely irreconcilable.
53. It has been urged against Bahman that Adar *mah* must, in Changa Asa's time have fallen in September, and that September is not at all a rainy month in Gujarat, but both these assertions can be easily proved to be of very doubtful accuracy.

of the Good Faith will be filled with light." All were delighted by this speech, because they would then be no longer dependent on (*lit.* free from, *i.e.* rid of the trouble of going to) Bānsdāh. With a hundred marks of reverence they brought the Fire away and gave it a fine house. It had three attendants of the Good Faith, who accompanied it. Night and day, the worship was celebrated by that one associate [of the three] whose appointed [duty] it was. Of one of them the name was Nāgan Rām,⁵⁴ and his desires were always turned towards the observance of [the precepts] of the Religion. The second Dastur's name was Khurshed and his father was Kiām-ud-din who was in Eternity. The third Dastur, Chāyyān the son of Sāer, also was always to be seen in its service. They had their families and kindred also with them and all of them accompanied the *Iranshah*. They were received with great respect and pomp and were treated honourably. The three Dasturs thus reached Navsari with their relatives after a long journey. In those days, that pious *Dawar* befriended these priests of the *Iran shah*. May this slave's homage reach him from this world. May he have a place among the Celestial Spirits.

CONCLUSION OF THE NARRATIVE.

Thanksgivings infinite and praises boundless, to the Creator of the World and the Cherisher of his slaves, who set my tongue going on this subject and graciously revealed unto me this door out of the Unknown. Lord, make the Dastur who revealed this tale to me happy in both worlds. I am the humble person hight Bahman who has his home and household goods in Navsari. Know further that my father is Kaikobad whose heart is delighted [only] when calling the *Iranshah* to mind. His sire was the Dastur Hormazdyar. May his place be in the resplendent Abode of the Blest. Know, O friend, that his surname was Sanjana, for by all kinds of wisdom was he fitted (*Sanjideh, lit.* weighed,) for affairs. This surname of Sanjana was given him on account of the wisdom which he showed [to exist] in our religious practices. They gave him the title of 'Dastur of the Faith'

54. Bahman himself was a lineal descendant of this Nagan Ram, the pedigree being Bahman, Kaikobad, Hamjiar, Padam, Kaman, Narsang, Nagan, Ram. See ante. p. 87.

also; and the road of piety was everywhere kept open through him, (*i. e.* he solved all religious difficulties). He had been settled in Navsari, *you may reckon*, (*i. e. approximately*), for two hundred years. A hundred thousand blessings upon him and also upon the souls of all the other Pillars of the Faith.

Thus have I, by the will of the Lord, successfully indited the story of our People, [in the hope] that when a devout person reads it, he may pronounce a blessing on me at the end. Many many thousand blessings from me on that virtuous character and man of those times. May He of the Immortal Soul [Zoroaster] send his Spirit to God and secure his pardon from the Supreme. May his Spirit always receive praise and his soul be perpetually at peace (*lit.* freedom from want). It was in the nine hundred and sixty-ninth year of the Era of Yazdagard that this tale was completed by my pen. On the day Khurdad of the month Frawardin, were these verses finished correctly (*lit.* according to rule). I have written this narrative and brought it to a conclusion, and I expect for it a reward from no one save the Lord, and I desire from my readers nothing but benedictions, for thus will my honour and fame grow. May that soul abide with Him of the Immortal Soul (Zoroaster), who reads me with a pleased heart. I have related in this narrative *what I have seen* and *what I have heard* from the conversation of the old. My preceptor⁵⁵ has, moreover, corrected it and thus have many flowers sprung up in this pleasure. May the Lord bestow upon him the full period of natural life (*i. e.* may he live for a hundred years,) and may all the years of that life be like the spring time. In telling this tale, I have ever *observed the ways of the truthful*. Pronounce then befitting blessings upon me, whenever you peruse (*lit.* see) this delectable narrative of mine. Laudations infinite and praises countless on the pious Zoroaster. May you [reader] have given you the Grace Divine to invoke blessings upon my soul.

55. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that Dastur Hoshang [Aas] from whom Bahman declares he heard the whole story was this teacher as well as the corrector of these verses.

THE COLOPHONS OF MIHIRĀPĀN KAIKHUSRU.

(A paper read before the Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Research on 5th December 1914.)

It is now nearly seventeen years since the name of the late Dastur Jamaspji Minocheherji appeared on the title-page of the first fasciculus of a volume of miscellaneous Pahlavi Texts of which the oldest and most authentic Manuscript was in that scholar's own possession. All the remaining fragments appear to have left the hands of the printer before the Dastur's death in 1898, but it was not till the beginning of the current year, that they were really published and made available for study and examination. I have no desire to canvass the literary or other merits of the historical, didactic and religious writings transcribed, without much thought of order or method, by the famous scribe Mihirāpān Kaikhusru in the ancient Codex. I propose to invite your attention only to the Colophons scattered with no illiberal hand over his pages—Colophons which are valuable not only on account of the paucity of surviving vouchers of such antiquity in Parsi Manuscripts, but which possess the rare merit of discovering interesting details about more than one Zoroastrian scribe of the Middle Ages and throwing welcome light on the obscurest period of our history. I shall, in the first instance, discuss the "postscripts proper" of Mihirāpān himself, and reserve for another occasion an examination of the older Colophon of the Aerpāt Dinpanāh, which has been "copied in" by Mihirāpān and supposed to demonstrate the existence of a fire-temple at Broach in 324 A. Y. (955 A. C.)

(A) ¹Denman Ayibātkār baēn yōm Khurshīt badnā Shatnīvar, Katīm *Vahjākik* Shant-ī-shash sad navadayok, baēn shatūn *Tāmnak* pavan jazīrak zarāe li dīn-bandak Matūn Āpān Kaikhusru Matūn Āpān Aerpāt nipisht. Vad sad va panjāh shant kār framāēt !

1. These transliterations and translations are cited from the Introduction to the Texts, written by Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Anklesaria, pp. 4-8. The Italics are mine.

" I, the servant of the Faith, Mehr-Āwān Kaikhusru Mehr-Āwān, the priest, wrote this memorandum in the district of *Tāmnak*, in the island of the sea, on the day Khurshid (of) the month Shahrivar of the old *ecclesiastical* year 691. May it be useful till a hundred and fifty years ! "

(B) Frajāmīnīt denman nipik pavan Hindukān pavan shatūn *Tānak*, pavan Ātāsh-betā, baēn yom Fravardin va badnā Ātūn *Vahījak* madam shant shash sad navad-ayok. Li Dīn-bandak Aērpāt-zāt Matūn-Āpān-i Kaikhusrub-i-Matūn-Āpān-i-Spendyāt-i-Matūn-Āpān-Marzpān-i Bahārām nipisht. Kanā mavan karitunāt va āmuzāt, afash kār azash vabidunāt, afash pachin azash vabidunāt, li mavan nipishtār homanam pavan nyokih arzānik yakshunāt, va ākhar min vatart pavan patitik arzānik yakshunāt afash pavan gēti tan husrub, afash pavan minoē rubān ahlub yahavunāt ! Aetun yahavunāt ! Aētuntar yahavunāt ; Farkho yahavunāt.

"This copy was finished in India, in the district of *Tānak*, in the fire temple, on the day Fravardin, and the *ecclesiastical* month Ādar of the year 691. I, the servant of the faith, Aerpat-born, Mehr-Āwān, (son) of Kaikhusrū, son of Mehr-Aw ān (son) of Spend-yāt, (son) of Mehr-Awān, (son) Marzpān, (son) of Baharām wrote it. May he who reads and learns (it), makes use of it, (or) copies it, consider me, who are the scribe, worthy of blessing, and worthy of absolution after death ! May his person be famous on earth, his soul holy in the spiritual existence. May it be so ! May it be the more so ! May it be auspicious ! "

(C) Yom Dadu-pavan-Matūn, badnā Tir, denman kurāsak min bahar Chāhil nipisht homanam ; kanā mavan dāret, kanā mavan karitunet, valman rāe niyākān valman rāē vahisht bahar arzānik dāret.

" I wrote this copy for Chāhil on the day Dae-pa-mihr of the month Tir. May he who keeps it, he who reads it consider him and his forefathers worthy of Heaven !

(D) संवत् १३७७ वर्षे कार्तिक शुद्धि १४ बुधे पार्श्वी सन ६९० वर्षे माह आदर रोज ककरवदीन आबह ठाना बेलाकुके सुखान् श्री गेयासदीन रोज्य (sic) परिपंचयतीत्येवं

काळे इरांजमीदेशात् समायात् पारसी भाषार्थे मिहिरवानस्य बहुमात्र लेखापनं कामकं
च प्रदाय पारसी व्यय सांगण भुत व्यय चाहिलेन पुष्पार्थे एतस्य पार्श्वे पुस्तकमिदं
लिखापितं शाहानामा गुस्तास्प पंदनामा आदरबाद मारस्पंद नामा यः कोपि पुस्तकमिदं
रक्षति पठति वा तेने व्यय चाहिलस्य पूर्वजानां मुक्तात्मनां तथा एतस्य निमत्तं (sic)
पुष्पं करणीयं ॥

"In the year 1377 A. V., on Wednesday, the 14th day of the month, Karttika, corresponding to the day Fravardin, month Adar, 690 A. Y., the Parsi priest Mihirwān, who came from Persia, on an invitation by letter couched in very respectful terms, wrote this book of Shāhnāmā Gushtāsp, Pandnāmā Adarbād Māraspand in memory of the late Sāngan, son of the late Chāhil in the district of Thāna at the time when Sultan Geyāsdin came to the throne. May he who preserves and studies this book remember the pious forefathers of the late Chāhil." ²

The first thing in these statements that arrests our attention is, that the name of the place in which the first part of the old Codex is said to have been finished, is written *Tāmnak* [or *Tāmok*] in the Pahlavi Colophon (A) indited on Khurshed Roz Māh Shahrivar *Vahjajik*, 691 A. Y. But we read in the Colophon (B) that the entire Manuscript was finished, ninety-eight days later, in the *Atash-betā* or fire-temple of the town of *Tānak*.

It has been justly observed by Haug that "the correct reading of the words is the most difficult task of the editor of a Pahlavi text,"³ and if we had had nothing but these Pahlavi postscripts to go by, the task of predicating anything with certainty of a place-name

The first Colophon is found in the middle of the Codex at the close of the fragment entitled *Hanakhtunishn-i-Mandum-i-Geti*, fol. 74a. All the others occur at the end. Geldner has noted that "like many other Vendidad Sadas, the Iranian Codex JP1 has a double Colophon, after Vdg and at the end." *Avesta, Prolegomena*, p. 7. He has also pointed out that "to several texts, Peshotan [Ram Kamdin] has appended a special postscript" in the collective Codex M 6. *ibid.* p. x.

Book of Ardaviraf, Introductory Essays, xxii.

which is written Tāmok⁴ or Tāmnak on one page and Tānak on another would have been by no means easy. Indeed, it would have been scarcely possible in that case, to say whether the first Manuscript copied by Mihirāpān Kaikhusru in India was finished at Thānā or Daman or Tenā or Dāmkā.⁵ Fortunately, we have here, as in two other Codices of Mihirāpān's⁶, the collateral guidance of a Sanscrit postscript and all doubts and surmises are precluded, by the transliteration, in an alphabet which is among the most perfect in the world, of the actual name of the locality. That name is unmistakably written ठाणा Thānā in the Devanagari character, and to it the epithet वेलाकूले is applied, which has been left out in the above translation, but which I shall presently explain.

The testimony of this Sanscrit Colophon is all the more weighty because instead of being a literal translation of any one of the three Pahlavi postscripts, it is a condensed paraphrase of them all, in which fresh details about the copyist and his environment have been embodied without the sacrifice of any material fact recorded in the Pahlavi. Here Thana is called वेलाकूले, i. e., "standing on the shore of the Sea." The corresponding expression in the Pahlavi, *pavan jazirak sarāe* (or *sreh*), has been taken to mean "in the island of the sea," but we all know that Thana is not situated on any island, and it is impossible not

4. Tāmök is the reading of E. W. West ; 'Pahlavi Literature' in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II. 113.

5. Tenā and Dāmkā are both villages in the Olpad Taluka of Surat district, which appear to have had a large Parsi population in the seventeenth century. *Parsi Prakash*, 14 and 842; *Jame Jamshed*, 18-3-1903.

6. The Yasna Codex K5 has "a double Colophon in Pahlavi and Sanscrit on fol. 326b." Geldner, *Avesta, Prolegomena*, vi. The Sanscrit Colophon of the Vendidad Codex L4 is preserved in Pt2 and may be seen in Darab Dastur Peshotan, *Pahlavi Vendidad*, xlvii.

7. वेलाकूले with the 'dirgha' 'u' synonymous with समुद्रतीरे, on the shore of the sea. वेला, tide, flow, stream, current ; the coast, sea-shore : कूल, a shore, a bank ; वेलाकूल, stream-bank. वेलाकुल (with the short 'u')-agitated by the tide. Monier-Williams, *Sanscrit Dictionary*. s. v.

to have doubts about the accuracy of this rendering. The fact is that the Semitic word *Jazirah* does not always or necessarily mean "an island", and is very loosely employed even by the most careful writers among the Arabs and the Persians⁸, from whom our Pahlavi scribe may be safely presumed to have borrowed it⁹. The word "Island" has a precise connotation in European geography which is well known to and understood by any man of any education. But this can hardly be said of *Jazirah*, which according to Richardson, means "island" and also "peninsula."¹⁰ A still higher authority, Lane, tells us that *Jazirah* means in Arabic "an island ; land in the sea or in a river from which the water has flowed away so that it appears, and in like manner, land which a torrent does not over-flow but which it surrounds; *land from which the tide retires*; a peninsula."¹¹ Lastly, Jarrett warns us in the notes to the geographical sections of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, that "*Jazirah* signifies not only an island but a peninsula or *tract from which the sea has retired*."¹² I am inclined to think that it is in this last sense that the word is used by Mihirāpān and the following quotation from the "Bombay Gazetteer" goes far to indicate the real significance of the phrase.

"The line of coast naturally falls into two parts, to the North and to the South of the Vaitarna. To the South, the great gulf that runs from the North of Colaba to Bassein must, in quite recent times, have stretched far further inland than it now stretches. Idrisi's description of Thana (1153), *that it stands on a great gulf where vessels*

8. The usual name for Mesopotamia in Arabic and Persian Literature is *Aljazirah*. Ouseley, *Oriental Geography of Ibn Haukal*, 54; Jaubert, Idrisi, II. 142; Malcolm, *History of Persia*, I. 76.
9. The word does not occur in any Pahlavi Dictionary or Glossary. This is probably the only example of its use as a *common noun*, in that language. It is used, as a *proper noun* in the Pahlavi *Shatroikhā-i-Irān*, for the tract of country lying between the Euphrates and the Tigris, *i. e.* Mesopotamia. J. J. Mody, *Text and Translation*, p. 86.
10. *Persian and Arabic Dictionary*, s. v.
11. *Arabic-English Dictionary*, s. v.
12. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Eng. Trans. III. 49.

anchor and from which they set sail, may have been sufficiently *exact* when the sea filled the great Marsh through which the Thana strait now runs, and spread towards Bhiwandi and Kalyan over wide tracts now half-dry."¹³

But this Sanscrit Colophon is not merely helpful in delivering us from a state of incertitude and enabling us to determine with confidence the true reading of the place name. It tells us also much about which the Pahlavi is silent. It informs us how and why Mihirāpān came to this country, acquaints us with the nature of his patron's occupation and the name of his father, and furnishes at the same time one of those parallel Hindu-Parsi dates, the extreme rarity of which must be lamented by all who have devoted any attention to the Parsi chronology of the Middle ages.¹⁴ Unhappily, it is the composition of a person whose familiarity with the Sanscrit idiom was by no means commensurate with his information. The Sanscrit is undoubtedly "bad," as Westergaard has justly characterised the language of the almost identically-worded postscript appended to another Codex (K₅) from the same pen.¹⁵ Indeed, no tyro in a Sanscrit Pāthshāla in Mihirāpān's day could have used काल for 'letter' in a scholastic exercise without getting a taste of the master's rod, and many a Pandit of our own times would "stare and gasp" at such a locution as एरानजमीदेशात्, even if he was able to make sense out of the

13. Bombay Gazetteer, Thana, XIII; Pt. i. 2.

14. These dates present an interesting problem which still remains unsolved. Two other examples are found in the Postscripts to L₄ and K₅, but the Hindu *tithi* given by Mihirāpān is not found, on calculation, to tally, in any case, with his *Ros Mah*—whichever it is supposed to be—*Shahnshahi* or *Kadmi*. He expressly says that he employs the *Vahijatik* reckoning, but of that we know little or nothing.

15. "Besides the Pahlavi postscript, K₅ has another in *bad* Sanscrit, with the date 692, Samvat 1379, which states that Kaikhusru, son of Mihirban, of Persian extraction, came from Iran at the time सुल्तान श्री ग्यासुद्दीने राज्यं परिपश्यति, when Sultan Gheiasuddin extended his kingdom, if this be the sense of the *strange word* "*paripantkayati*." Westergaard, *Zendavesta*, Preface, p. 11 note.

"strange word" परिपंचयती.¹⁶ Such solecisms, combined perhaps with copyists' errors, have rendered the postscript obscure, if not incomprehensible, in some places and I may be permitted to lay before the Society an English translation which has been revised by my friend, Prof. H. M. Bhadkamkar of the Wilson College.

"In the Samvat year 1377, on Wednesday, Kārtikka Sudi 14, on the Fravardin day of the month Ādar of the Parsi year 690, today, here in Thana, on the shore of the sea, at the time when Sultan Giyāsa-din was establishing his sway, the Parsi merchant Chāhil, son of the Parsi merchant Sāngan, having sent [lit. given] a letter full of compliments and an honorarium for copying, caused this book to be written for the merit of his soul by the Parsi priest Mihirwān who came from the country of Irānland [Persia]. Whosoever preserves or reads this book of the Shāhnāmā Gushtāsp, the Pandnāmā Ādarbād Māraspand will reflect merit upon [or to the account of] the merchant Chāhil and also upon his ancestors whose souls have been emancipated."

A comparison of this rendering with the one quoted at the outset, from the Introduction written by Mr. Behramgore Tehmuras Ankle-saria, will show differences which are by no means inconsequential. In the first place, Mihirwān did not make this copy "in memory of the *late* Sāngan, son of the *late* Chāhil," but transcribed it for a *living* individual named *Chāhil, the son of Sāngan*. Of this there can be little doubt, and if there were any, it would be dispelled by the explicit declaration in the Pahlavi Colophon C. "*I wrote this copy for Chāhil on the day Daepamihir of the month Tir.*" In a word, the Sanscrit is in perfect accord with the Pahlavi, and, indeed, it would be scarcely fair to any writer, to suppose him so careless as to represent Chāhil on one page as the son and on another as the father.

16. It is absolutely infructuous to stand up at this time of day for the purity and correctness of our ancestors' Sanscrit. Parsi Colophons in that language are almost invariably corrupt. See for examples, Hoshangji and West, *Shikand-Gumanic Vijar*, Introduction, xxi; West, *Pahlavi Texts*, III, xxi (Mainyo Khard); xl. (Saddar); Shehriarji, *Neriosengh's Sanscrit Writings*, Part I, Preface, iii; Part III, 48-49.

This confusion has probably arisen from the transcriber of the Sanscrit postscript having cut up the समास or compound noun व्यवसायगणकुत व्यवसायहिलेन into five separate vocables, instead of writing, as he ought to have done, all together in a line, as one word.

A more difficult and debatable question is that relating to the letters व्यव which are prefixed to the names of both the father and the son, and which have been supposed to mean, (probably on account of some fancied connection with व्यपगत), "late" or "deceased." व्यव, however, has no such sense assigned to it in the Sanscrit dictionaries and Prof. Bhadkamkar, Shastri Venkatāchārya of the Baroda College and other scholars profess their ignorance of any such form in that language. The same letters are attached, in exactly the same way, to the names of both Chāhil and Sūngan in the Sanscrit postscript to Mihirāpān's Vendidad Codex L₄ and have been read "यव" by Dastur Darab Peshotan, but it is due to the latter scholar to say that he has characterised his own reading as "doubtful" and left it untranslated.¹⁷ In this state of obscurity, it may perhaps be permissible to offer the conjecture that we have here an old-time abbreviation of व्यवहारक, trader, merchant. This suggestion appears to me to receive some support from the fact that in many Parsi documents of the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the later and more simplified forms बु. and बो. are prefixed to many signatures and signify बुरा or बेरा or बोहरा,¹⁸ every one of which words is derived from the older व्यवहारक.¹⁹

17. Pahlavi Vendidad, Introduction, xlvihi.

18. वे. बाबा भाडीआर, Document of A.O. 1616, Parsi Prakash. 11; वे. भनाल कुडाळ तलाडी, 1723 A. C. Ib. 25; वे. जेडरायल भनाल, 1748 A.O. ib. 37 note; वे. धारीलाड नोराखानल, वे. नानालाड जेडरायल भनाल, बेरा भाडुडल नवरोल बाडीआ, बेरा डुरिल लवखुल डेडीमनी, 1785 A.C. ib. 65; वेडरा अरोरोल कुवरल, 1825 A.O. ib. 85. The surnames जशीबेरा, ib. 66, भनल बेरा, ib. 73, सभां बेरा, ib. 185, धनल बेरा, ib. 864 also may be cited as additional illustrations. Earlier examples are to be found in many original documents of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries which are in my own possession, and which will be published shortly.

19. "बोरो Vohro. s. m. a trader; a Bora. वोरोखु Vohra-vūn, v. t. [s. इ, हर to take] to purchase, to buy." Belsare, Gujarati English Dictionary. S. V. "Bohra, Borāh (Sans. Vyavahāri, व्यवहारी, a trader, a man of affairs; (also Bohārā,

Briefly, Chāhil as well as his father was a **बोरा**, a trader, money-lender or merchant "who received any article of marketable value in payment of money advanced," and made his profit of it. There is nothing improbable in the supposition that he was a Zoroastrian resident of the then exceedingly prosperous seaport of Cambay, who had made a fortune so considerable, that he could afford to invite from Persia and make it worth while for a competent Iranian Pehlvisant to transcribe for him, within the next two years, four other manuscripts of the Parsi Scriptures. But this is not all that we learn from this ancient Codex of the "good old Behdin," Chāhil Sāngan. The *Rosnāmak*, or list of the death-anniversaries of the family of Chāhil at the end, is a document of great interest, if only as furnishing authentic specimens of the names borne by Indian Zoroastrians in the 13th and 14th centuries. The extraordinary inversion of the real relationship of Chāhil and Sāngan, to which reference has been already made, may perhaps excuse the reproduction, by a student fond of genealogical inquiries, of their family-tree.

Chāhil

|

Ātar

|

Bahrām, died Roz Fravardin, Māh Ādar.

|

Vohuman, died Roz Fravardin, Māh Ādar.

|

=Chāhil, died Roz Fravardin, Māh Dai.

|

Sāngan, died Roz Fravardin, Māh Amardād.

|

=Mālan, wife of Sāngan, died Roz Fravardin, Māh Dai.

|

Chāhil, Mihirāpān's patron.

|

Dh-r-k or Daru, died Roz Anirān, Māh Tir.

Bohari, or Bohāri, Mahr. **बोहारा, बोहरी, बोहारी**, a banker. A money lender or merchant of a particular tribe so called, usually receiving any article of marketable value in payment of money advanced." H. H. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, s. v. See also, Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke, s. v. Bora.

I have not seen it noticed that two of the persons mentioned in this *Roznāmak*, Vohuman Bahrām and Bahrām Ātar, that is, father and son, are said to have *both died on the same day*. And it is certainly strange that that day, Roz Fravardin, Māh Ādar, should be the one which, according to the commentary on the Pahlavi Vendidad (VIII. 22), is specially set apart for the celebration of the anniversary, in those cases in which neither the day nor the month in which the death took place is known.²⁰ It is common knowledge that these cases are generally, of persons who have been drowned at sea or perished in distant countries, and it appears as if the father and son had come by their deaths in some long sea-voyage or land-journey, undertaken for the furtherance of their trade.

I have said that these Colophons throw some light on the obscurest period of our history. In the first place, the explicit mention in them of a fairly wealthy Behdin of Cambay and the *Roznāmak* of so many as six of his ancestors prove that the tradition about Cambay having been one of the oldest Parsi settlements which is found recorded in the much-abused *Kissah-i-Sanjān* is demonstrably correct.²¹ In the second, they leave no room whatever for

20. Darab Dastur Peshotan, Pahlavi Vendidad p. 147.

“જે કોઈના ગુજરાતના દીવસ માલમ ન હોય તો તેના દર મહીનાના રોજગારનો દહાડો ફરવરદીન રોજ કરવો. જેનો શીશીજનો દીવસ ખી અખર ન હોય તો તેનો શીશીજેખી ફરવરદીન રોજ કરવો. જેની વરસીનો દીવસખી અખર ન હોય તો તેના વરસ દહાડાના રોજગારનો દીવસ આદર મહીનાના ફરવરદીન રોજ કરવો.” Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji, Pahlavi Vendidad, Text and Translation in Gujarati, pp. 68 and 86. Is it not also curious that *five out of the six anniversaries* fall on the day Fravardin? Is it only a coincidence or was it that the *month* only was held in remembrance and not the actual day, which was afterwards fixed according to the above injunction?

21. The following traditional account found in a Report on Cambay, made by Capt. Robertson in 1813, is, as usual, full of chronological errors and exaggerations of fact, but it is not without interest in connection with the question before us.

“Some of the Parsis, who since their arrival in India, about 636, had remained in the South of Gujarat, were attracted to the settlement (942-997) near the temple of the *Kumarikā Kshetra* at the mouth of the Mahi. *The first comers succeeding in trade, others followed, and in time the Parsi element became so strong, that by their overbearing conduct they forced the Hindus to leave the city.* Among those who fled was a man of the *Dasā Lār* caste of Wāniās, *Kaliānrāi* by name. He

doubt that an *Ātash-betū*, a house for the fire, i.e., an *Agny* or *Daremehr* existed in the town of Thānā in 691 A. Y., 1322 A. C. This of course implies that there was a Parsi population so considerable that the erection and maintenance of a place of worship were both possible and necessary. And this not only recalls to our memory but invests with *real* meaning, the somewhat confused and vaguely recorded impressions of two European travellers who visited this part of the country between 1320 and 1323.

"The people thereof," (Tanna), says the Friar Oderic, "are idolaters, for they worship fire and serpents and trees also, * * * *; and here they do not bury the dead, but carry them with great pomp to the fields and cast them to the beasts and birds to be devoured."²² And Jordanus tells us, "There be also other pagan-folk in this India who worship fire, they bury not their dead, neither do they burn them, but cast them into the midst of a certain roofless tower and there expose them totally uncovered to the fowls of heaven. These believe in the two first Principles, to wit, of Evil and of Good, of Darkness and of Light."²³

took refuge in Surat, where in a short time, by trading in pearls, he acquired a large fortune. His wealth gave him consequence and he had the address to bring together a numerous band of Ryputs and Kolis, who in the night attacked the Parsis, putting many to the sword, and setting fire to their houses. The rest took to flight, and not a Parsi was to be seen in *Āmanika Āshetra*. Kālānraī then formed the design of building a city on the ruins of the Parsi town. If this is *Surat* and not *Sorath*, Kālānraī's date can hardly have been before the *fourteenth century*" (Note.) Statistical Account of Cambay for the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, 45

The chief incidents in this story, the wholesale expulsion of the Hindus, the sudden wealth made by Kālānraī and the foundation of a new city by a Bania are probably unhistorical, but the Colophons before us support the statement about the *new comers having succeeded in trade*, and if there were many other Zoroastrian Voras as well to do as Chāhil Sangan, the Parsi element must have been indeed strong. As for the Note, all that need be said is that if the writer were now alive, he would certainly be gratified to learn that his conjecture as to the prosperity of the Cambay Parsis having not waned before the *fourteenth century* was quite correct. Guerra d'Orta (1535 A. C.) notices a curious class of merchants and shopkeepers who were called *Coaris*, that is, *Gawrs*, in Bassein, and *Esparcis*, that is, *Parsis* in Cambay, who had come from Persia, took their dead out by a special door and *exposed their bodies* till they were destroyed. *Colloquios dos Simples*, 213, *apud* Gujarat Persis, Bombay Gazetteer IX. ii. 7-8.

22. Oderic in Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither, I. 57, 59.

23. Jordanus, Mirabilia, ed-Jules, 21.

The explicit mention of the *Thānā fire-temple* in this Colophon has a bearing on another question also of some interest. It is possibly within the recollection of some of you that the actual words of the old Memorandum, which is the basis of the traditional date of the conveyance of the ancient Iranshah to Navsari, were cited for the first time in the second of my two papers on the Traditional Dates of Parsi history.²⁴ These words are :—

ચવંત ૧૪૭૫ વરખે માહા શહરેવર રોજ મેહરશપદ આખાડ શુદ પ બુધે શ્રી આલખે
મેહરામ થાનક પધારેઆ શંઝાણથી વાંસદે આવેઆ પછે તા'હાથી મેહેલીન અનમન મહી
જુસારી લેધ આવેઆ.

We are all aware that if these words are understood, as they have hitherto been, in a sense implying that the year in which the ancient Fire of Sanjan was conveyed from Bansdah to Navsari corresponded with the 1475th of the Vikram era (1419 A. C.), the statement is irreconcilable, not only with the circumstantial narrative of the *Kissah-i-Sanjan*, but the consensus of Parsi tradition, which has always associated that event with the name of Changa Asa, who can be shown from the contemporary evidence of the *Revayets* to have been then scarcely born at all.²⁵ Now, it is not easy for any dispassionate student of our antiquities to reject *both* the *Kissah* and the *Revayets*, but then it is equally difficult for him to condemn, as *entirely* unauthentic, a memorandum of which the chronological part has turned out to be perfectly correct on calculation and which can be traced back, on the authority of unquestionably old Manuscripts, to Dastur Hamjiār Rām Sanjānā who was alive in 1516 A. C.²⁶ Well then, is there any way out of this dilemma? I have ventured to suggest that the fault is not in the Memorandum, but perhaps in *our* understanding of it, and I have made an effort to find a new meaning for the words—a meaning which saves the situation and provides at the same time, a working hypothesis, in no way inconsistent with any well-ascertained fact of Parsi History. In a word, I have offered the conjecture that the word થાનક is to be construed here

²⁴. See ante, p. 20.

²⁵. See ante, p. 19.

²⁶. See ante, p. 21.

not as a common noun but as the name of the place (Thānā) to which the Sacred Fire was temporarily conveyed for safety, in some great crisis which occurred in 1475, Vikram Samvat (1419 A. C.). I was able to show at the time from Hindu records (Silhara inscriptions and a Sanscrit Cyclopædia), that the modern town of Thānā was known as *Sthānak* or *Thānak*, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the Christian era.²⁷ But I could not produce any corroborating evidence from Parsi sources, anything calculated to *prove* that Thānā was an important centre of Parsi population at that date, and that our ancestors had any acquaintance with that form of the name in which the final 'k' of "Sthānak" was retained instead of being dropped, as in the popular designation. The Colophons before us go far to remove that defect in the evidence. Nay, they perhaps do more. They make it easy to understand why the thoughts of the guardians of the Irānshāh turned to the Thānā Agiāry preferably to any other place, when they were compelled, "by the actual or apprehended violence of some local tyrant or powerful invader," to seek a place of refuge for themselves and their most cherished possession, the Fire of Bahrām. And here, it may be needful to correct an erroneous idea which has been adopted without pretence to inquiry by many persons, and which has obscured the real point at issue. It is popularly supposed that the form *Thānā* is of exceedingly recent origin and that *Thānak* must be a much older form. As a matter of fact, however, the form *Thānā* is as old at least as the tenth century of the Christian era, and is the only one that occurs in the works of the Arab geographers Mas'udi, Alberuni, Idrisi and Abulfeda.²⁸ These postscripts show that the town was indifferently known as *Thānā* and *Tānak* even in the fourteenth century. The first is found in the Sanscrit Colophon but the persistence with which the final consonant, 'k', of the classical or sanscritised form, 'Sthānak', is, (in spite of other variations), added by Mihirāpān in both the Pahlavi postscripts shows, that the Iranian stranger had clearly

27. See ante, pp. 22-24.

28. Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, I. 24; 60, 61, 66, 67; Jaubert, Idrisi, I 189; Yule, *Marco Polo*, ed. Cordier, II. 396, Da Cunha, *Bassein*, 180.

discerned it in the utterance of his correligionists, as well as other residents, and did not think himself justified in omitting it in translation.

One thing more and I have done. The name of Mihirāpān Kai-khusru may not be widely known among our people, but it does not deserve and ought never to be forgotten. It is to him that we are indebted for the four most ancient and valuable Codices of the Yasna and the Vendidad, which have made possible those advances in the textual criticism and interpretation of the Avesta which have taken place in the last hundred years. It may be, therefore, not unworthy of note that in the Colophons of Mihirāpān's writings we possess a concise itinerary of his progress through this country. The Manuscript of the Arda Virāf and Gosht Fryāno which he is said to have indited on Roz Rashn, Māh Dai 690 A. Y., from the older copy of a Mīhrpanāh-i-Saroshyār of Nishāpur, must have been written while he was still in Persia.²⁹ It is probable that he arrived in India some time in 691 A. Y.,³⁰ and there is reason to believe that *he came, like the first Sanjan immigrants, by sea* and disembarked somewhere on the Western Coast. At any rate, we find him domiciled, first of all, at Thana, where he must have remained for about four months, —if not more, in as much as the first Part of this volume of miscellaneous Pahlavi Texts was finished on Roz Khurshed, Māh Shahriwar, 691 A. Y., and the rest concluded on Roz Fravardin, Māh Ādar of the same

29. Westergaard, *Zendavesta*. Preface, p. 3. Hoshangji and Haug, *Book of Ardāviraf*. Introductory Essays, vi.

30. In the Pahlavi Colophon of J2, Mihirāpān says that he came to the land of the Hindus in the year 692, *Vahijakik*. Mills, *The Ancient Manuscript of the Yasna Reproduced in Facsimile*, p. 770. In the Pahlavi postscript to L4 preserved in Pt2, the year is, by some mistake of the copyist's, written 732. Darab Dastur Peshotan, *Pahlavi Vendidad*, Introduction, xlv. West thinks it ought to be 672 A. 20 Y. Grundriss, II, 121 and note 3. Westergaard says that Mihirāpān "came to India about A. D. 1321, [690 A. Y.] according to a statement of K5," *op. cit.* Preface, p. 3, note. The fact that he was half way through a Manuscript of these texts on Roz Khurshed, Māh Shahriwar, 691 A. Y. shows that Mihirāpān must have arrived before 690 A. Y.

year.³¹ One hundred and eight days later, Roz Bahman, Mah Fravardin, 692 A. Y. he corrected the last page of the Yasna Codex J, we cannot say where, but it is as likely as not that he was still residing in the 'Ātash betā' or fire-temple of Thana.³² However that may have been, his next halt was at the स्तंभतिर्थ of Navsari, for it was there that he finished the task of writing and revising the Vendidad Codex L, on Roz Khرداد, Māh Āvān, 692 A. Y. ³³ The postscript of another Yasna, K₅, of which the last stroke was penned at Cambay on Roz Asmān, Māh Dai of the same year indicates that he must have removed soon afterwards to that town,³⁴ and stayed for six months more at the least, for the last page of another Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad, K₁, was indited there ³⁵ on Roz Depādar, Māh Tir of the following year (693 A. Y.).³⁶ His subsequent history is unfortunately not so easy to trace. The probabilities, however, are in favour of the supposition that he continued to reside at Cambay. The old Codex K₃₀ contains, among other things, two postscripts which indicate that the first Part of a Pahlavi Revāyat was transcribed by him at Cambay on Roz Adar, Māh Mihr A. Y. 700 (1331 A. C.),

31. If we understand the Pahlavi Colophon C to mean that Mihirāpān commenced making this copy of the Pahlavi Texts for Chāhil on Roz Depamehr, Māh Tir, [691 A. Y.], his stay in Thana would extend to at least five months and five days, Roz Depamihr, Māh Tir to Roz Fravardin, Māh Ādar.
32. Geldner, Avesta, Prolegomena, vi. West, Grundriss, II, 84. The date was at one time supposed to have been Roz Fravardin, Mah Bahman. Mills, Yasna, Sacred Books of the East, XXXI, p. xvi. The reasons for its rejection are discussed by Mills in the Preface to the Facsimile Edition of the Yasna, vi-vii.
33. Darab Dastur Peshotan, Pahlavi Vendidad, Introduction xlviii.
34. Geldner Avesta, Prolegomena, vi. West, Grundriss, II, 82.
35. Geldner, Avesta, Prolegomena, vi. West, Grundriss, II, 82.
36. Geldner, West, Mills and others appear to have regarded the dates of all these Manuscripts of Mihirāpān's as Shahنشahi, probably because they were written in India, and have converted them accordingly. But Mihirāpān explicitly mentions that he employs the Vahijakik reckoning, and it would be easy to prove from the parallel Hindu dates, that the Vahijakik reckoning is not identical with the Shahنشahi.

and three Fargards of the Hadokht Nask and some other fragments, twenty years later, on Roz Rashn, Māh Ādar, 720 A. Y.³⁷ (1351 A. C.). This is the last we hear of him. Of his other labours, we possess nothing except a single folio of a Pahlavi Bundahishn from which the eighteen leaves of the fragment known as K₂₀⁶ appear to have been directly transcribed³⁸.

37. Hoshangji and Haug, *Book of Ardaviraf*, Introductory Essays, vi ; Geldner, *Prolegomena*, viii ; West, *Grundriss*, II, 98 ; Pahlavi Texts, Part I, xxvii-xxix.

38. West, *Grundriss* II, 98.

WAS THERE A PARSI FIRE TEMPLE AT BROACH IN 324 A. Y.?

(A Paper read before the Society for the Prosecution of
Zoroastrian Research on 12th December 1914.)

The Colophons which were the subject of the last dissertation were the "postscripts proper" of the copyist himself, statements made by Mihirāpān Kaikhusru in the first person and from his own knowledge, about the time and circumstances of the beginning, the middle and the end of his labours. The other Colophons found in our old Codex are compositions belonging to a very different class. Excepting five lines they do not emanate from Mihirāpān at all; they are merely the postscripts of antecedent copyists which he has *not omitted to transcribe*, merely because they existed in his original, and they reappear, *for that reason only*, in his pages. The practice is by no means uncommon and there are examples of it in K₁ and L₄¹, in which before inditing his own postscript, Mihirāpān has "copied in" the Colophon, not only of his own predecessor Rustakhm Mitroāpān-i-Spenddāt, but that of the latter's precursor Aerdeshir Vohuman Rojveh. Other illustrations of this usage can be seen in the series of Colophons transcribed in the Mulla Firuz Manuscript of the Dinkard,² in the elaborate and involved Preface to Hoshang Siāvax's Pahlavi Yasna³ and the two postscripts (first and third) of K₁, transferred to his own copy of the Vendidad, by Ardeshir Mobad Jivā Vika.⁴ The practice has its uses and ad-

1. Geldner, *Avesta, Prolegomena*, vi; Darab Dastur Peshotan, *Pahlavi Vendidad*, Introduction, xxxvi—xl, and xlv—xlvii, where the Pahlavi text and translations of all these Colophons are given.

2. All these Colophons are translated in West, *Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV. Introduction. xxxiii—xxxvi.

3. West in *Gundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II. 84.5; Geldner, *Avesta, Prolegomena*. xiii.

4. Darab Dastur Peshotan, *Pahlavi Vendidad*, xlii—xliv. West in *Grundriss*, II. 82.

vantages. A couple of such decisive postscripts carry more weight than pages full of similar or dissimilar, correct or incorrect readings, and it becomes easy by their aid to trace the descent of Manuscripts and form correct estimates of their value for text-criticism. But then, statements of this character, found in the odd corners of Manuscripts which are themselves undated, or of which the Colophons have been lost, are also liable to mislead and perplex. Geldner confesses that the connexion of Hoshang Siāvax's postscripts "is not quite clear" and West calls it a "complicated statement." Indeed, scholars have not infrequently fallen into error in consequence of the difficulties in the way of interpreting correctly and apprehending clearly, the relation in which these often disconnected and obscurely-worded statements stand to each other. The true meaning of the Colophons which have been supposed to demonstrate the existence of a Parsi Fire-temple at Broach in 324 A. Y. is by no means free from doubt and obscurity, and I venture to think that their real purport has been misconceived and undue stress laid on the doubtful reading of a single word in one of these scattered notices without reference to the other statements with which it is connected.

"Denman ayibātkārihā nipishtak bût yakavimūnāt pavan badnā Vohūman-i-baēn shant se sad vīst-i-chehar, yōm Dadū-pavan Atun, dēr zivāt Dinpanāh-i-Aētarpāē-i-Dinpanāh min bahar-i dēr zivāt Shāzāt-i-Shātān Farkhō Auharmazd rāē, mavan sh ān rūbān anūshak yahavūnāt. Baēn Brugach yahavūnt pavan Atāsh-katak."

"These Memoranda had been written in the month Vohuman, in the year 324, (on) the day Daepādar (by) Dinpanāh (son) of Aētarpāē, (son) of Dinpanāh-may he live long !—for Shāzāt (son) of

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5. "Hoshang had copied the MS of Herbad Mitroāpān-i-Spentodād-i-Mitroāpān (the grand-father of the copyist of J2, K1, K5, L4) and the latter had copied the MS of Herbad Māh-panāh-i-Azād-Mard. Further on in the preface there are still older Colophons of Māhpanāh's predecessors, in part recopied verbatim, but their connection is not quite clear." Avesta, Prolegomena, xxv. West in Grundriss. II. 85.

Shāt, (son) of Farkho Auharmazd—may he live long!—may their souls be immortal! They (these memoranda) were in Broach in the Fire-temple.”⁶

Now what are we to gather from these sentences? Are we to understand that Mihirāpān “copied from a Manuscript which was three hundred and sixty seven years old” when he wrote in 691 A. Y., and may we take it as a newly discovered fact of Parsi history that there was a Fire-temple existing in Broach in 324 A. Y. (955-6 A. C.)? The last question is undoubtedly of great interest, and there is no student of Parsi history who would not hail with delight any reliable evidence of the existence of a Parsi Colony at Broach in the tenth century of Christ. But the matter is not so simple as it appears, and there are many difficulties in the way of accepting as real any such “addition to our knowledge.”

It is obvious that the entire question turns upon the words “Three hundred and twenty-four.” It is, therefore, singularly unfortunate that the portion of that folio of the old Codex on which this postscript occurs, has suffered so much from the ravages of damp, bad ink and other “enemies of books”, that very little can be now made out of the words which stood for the year. The editor of the Texts in a foot-note admits that M K, the old Codex, is “torn,”⁷ and Dr. E. W. West, who made a careful copy of it for his own use in 1875, read 624 A. Y. “The 6,” he declares, “is eaten away in J. [Dastur Jamaspji’s old Codex] and the copy of 1721 has 3 which is impossible, but may be the second cipher of

6. The transliteration and translation are cited from Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria’s Introduction to Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji’s Pahlavi Texts, p. 5. It may be, perhaps, not unnecessary to say that the phrase *Derzīvāt*, ‘May he live long,’ applies only to Dinpanāh and Shāzāt, and not to Dinpanāh’s or Shāzāt’s father and grandfather. The benedictory formula *Mavan shām rubān anushak yakavundt*, ‘may their souls be immortal,’ is obviously meant, here at least, only for Shāzāt and Farkho Auharmazd.

7. Ibid. 5.

8. Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji, Pahlavi Texts, 83 n. 5.

3+3, the only mode of writing 6 in Pahlavi." To put it differently, the reading "Three hundred and twenty-four" is not derived and receives no support whatever from the *primary* authority. It has been simply taken on trust from a copy made in the eighteenth century, when the old Codex was already four hundred years old, when it had lost four folios¹⁰ and when its text had been otherwise dislocated by the misplacement of ten, which the copyist mechanically transcribed in the wrong order. It can scarcely be said that this late copy is the work of an over-careful scribe, and even if it was, it would be hazardous to assert that the additional cipher for a 3 or a 2 had *not* been "eaten away" or otherwise disappeared when it was made. In other words, it would be very bold of any one now living, to say that folio 74 had suffered no damage whatever in the course of four centuries.¹¹ It may be of course presumed that the old Codex was in the eighteenth century in a comparatively better state of preservation, and the late copy has, as a matter of fact, facilitated the restoration of many words which have been lost in the original, but then there are other lacunae for which it has proved of no use, for

9. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, II. 113.

10. Jamaspji Dastur Minocheherji, Pahlavi Texts, Introduction, 8. West thinks it had lost so many as twenty-four pages in 1721. Grundriss, II. 111. He says that this copy of 1721 was made by a son [Jamshed] of Jāmāsp Asā of Nausari, but in this he appears to have been mistaken. Jāmāsp Asā, *the father*, could not have been more than twenty-four years old in that year, as he was only fifty-six at his death in 1753. (*Parsi Prakash*, 39). And Jamshed himself was not even born at the time, according to the same authority, which records his death in 1787 A. C. at the age of fifty-five. Ibid. 68.

11. Six or seven hundred years may be said to be the maximum duration of the life of Manuscripts *on paper*, which utterly perish in many cases even before the expiration of that period, from "senile decay." Westergaard has noted the curious fact that there is "*scarcely* a Manuscript of the Rigveda" which is "half as old as those which contain the Vendidad and Yesna" of Mehemāpan Kaikhusru. *Zendavesta*, Preface, 15.

the simple reason that they existed in the model itself when the copy was made.¹² In other words, it would be scarcely justifiable to overlook the possibility of the eighteenth century scribe having failed to notice or inadvertently omitted a 3 or a 2 which had already become invisible in his day.¹³

But this does not fill up the measure of our difficulties. Parsi Libraries contain several other manuscript copies of some, if not all, of these texts, which are descended more or less remotely, from an original independent of this Codex. In these Manuscripts, this Colophon makes its appearance in a form which is "another and yet the same."

"Denman ayibātkāriha nipsishtak büt yakavīmūnāt pavan badnā Antavahisht-ī-Shant haftāt-haft Hindūstānik, yōm-ī-Gōsh, dēr zivāt Dīnpanāh-ī-Aētrapāē-I-Dinpanāh, min bahar-ī-dēr *zivūt shāt zivūt* Shāzāt-ī-Shatān-ī-Farkho Auharmazd rāe, mavan-shān rubān amushak yahavunāt! Baen Brugach yahavūnt Shāgart-katak nipsisht.

Frajaft. Le Din-bandak Kāmdin Aerpat-zāt Aerpat Shatun-ayibār Aerpat Neryosang Aerpat Samand nipsisht.

"These 'Memoranda' had been written in the month of Ardibehesht of the year Seventy-seven Hidustāni, (on) the day Gosh, (by) Dinpanāh. (son) of Aetarpāe, (son) of Dinpanāh—may he live long!—for Shāzāt, (son) of Shat (son) of Auharmazd—may he live long *and in gladness*! May their souls be immortal! These memoranda were at Broach in a school.

12 See for examples Texts, p. 81, note 5; p. 82, n. 33. p. 128, n. 12-13, p. 137, n. 80; p. 146, n. 36; p. 148, n. 59; p. 151, n. 94-5, p. 167, n. 6-7.

13. In one case, the cipher for 7 is actually omitted in this eighteenth century copy, although it exists in the old Codex. Texts, p. 107, n. 4: In another, the sign for 3 is left out along with some other words. Ibid, p. 43, n. 38-39.

"Completed. I, the Servant of the Religion, Kāmdin Aerpat, (son) of Aerpat Shahryār (son of) Aerpat Neryosang, (son of) Aerpat Samand copied it."¹⁴

All the other words in the *first* part of this composite statement are the same as in the Colophon "copied in" by Mihirāpān. The names of the writer and of the person for whom he wrote are identical, but the date is different. That is not Roz Depādar, Māh Bahman, of any Yazdajardi year, but *Roz Gosh, Māh Ardibehesht, of the year 77 Hindustāni*. The town again is the same, but the building is not a fire-temple but a school-house.¹⁵

This is what we find in JE, a Manuscript written in 1813 A. C. belonging to the late Dastur Hoshang Jamasp of Poona, and this Colophon occurs in exactly the same form in a Manuscript which can be seen in the Meherji Rana Library at Navsāri,¹⁶ another in the possession of Ervad Manekji Rustamji Unwāllā and two others in the private collection of the late Dastur Rustamji Kaikobadji Meherji Rana, which are at present the property of his nephew Ervad Nādir-shāh Bahmanji Dastur.¹⁷

Now what are we to understand by "the year 77 Hindustāni?" It is obvious that the sign for the hundreds has been left out, and it is not difficult to see that two copies must have been made by Dinpanāh.

14. It is probable, *i. e.* however that the school-house is only another name for the *Atash-Katak i. e.* Agiary, or Daremehr. The Mobed in small towns or sparsely inhabited Zoroastrian centres, not long since had his school in the Agiary, which was also his private residence, and the statement is true of Nārgol and some other places even now.

15. Introduction, p. 11. Texts, p. 82, n. 4.

16. MS. T 4, Catalogue of the First Dastur Meherji Rānā Library, p. 68.

17. Collection of the Colophons of Avesta-Pahlavi Manuscripts in Parsi Libraries made by Ervad Noshervan B. Desai for the Parsi Punchayet. I have seen the last four Manuscripts myself.

for one person on two different Roz Māhs. A simple calculation will show that the Hindu era meant cannot be the Vikram Samvat, for the equivalent of any 24th year of a Yazdajardi Century in the Vikram series must be the 11th, and the difference between 11 and 77, *either* way is so considerable (34 or 66 years)¹⁸, as to make the supposition of a *second* copy having been made by the *same* scribe for the *same* person after 66 or even 34 years very improbable. On the other hand, the Shaka era will exactly suit.

$$324 \text{ A. Y.} = 324 + 631 - 78 = 877 \text{ Shaka.}$$

$$424 \text{ A. Y.} = 424 + 631 - 78 = 977 \text{ Shaka.}$$

$$524 \text{ A. Y.} = 524 + 631 - 78 = 1077 \text{ Shaka.}$$

$$624 \text{ A. Y.} = 624 + 631 - 78 = 1177 \text{ Shaka.}$$

It can scarcely be said that this result is very illuminating, but it appears that Dinpanāh finished two copies for the same patron on two different days in the course of the same year, but whether that year belonged to the Ninth, Tenth, Eleventh or Twelfth Century of the Shaka era, it is impossible to say.

But it is said that the late Ervad Tehmuras Dinshawji Anklesaria possessed a Manuscript, TD, in which the reading is not "77 Hindustānik" but "1077 Hindustānik." Now, 1077 Shaka would correspond to 524 A. Y., and would fit in with the Pahlavi, if we supposed that the original figure for the hundreds in the old Codex was not a 6 but a 5 (which is written in Pahlavi as if it were 3+2.). But then TD is admittedly a *recent copy without date or name of scribe* and is besides full of "insertions and emendations" which "often corrupt the text."¹⁹ The reading, therefore, comes before us with a strong presumptive challenge to rejection,

18. 24 A. Y. $24 + 631 + 56 = 711$ V. S.

124 A. Y. $124 + 621 + 56 = 811$ V. S.

and so on,

$77 - 11 = 66$,

$111 - 77 = 34$.

19. Behramgore Tahmuras Anklesaria's Introduction to the Texts, pp. 12-13.

and it is indeed impossible to avoid the suspicion that the cipher for '1000' is the fatuous interpolation of some scribe who was anxious to bring the words within the compass of his own understanding and solicitous to emend only because "he thought he knew better." It is possible that this reading may be found in some other recent Manuscripts copied from T D or its source, but *unless T D itself or that source can be proved to be old*, that is, the unless the reading "1077 Hindustānik" can be shown to occur in some Manuscript of undoubted antiquity, no value can be attached to such corroboration.

We are thus left where we were, and all that can be said is, that Dinpanāh made two copies of some of these texts, one in a school at Broach, and the other in the Firetemple of the same town, in the course of a year which was the 24th of some Yazdajardi, and the 77th of some Shaka century *unknown*.²⁰

This is of course far from satisfactory, but that is perhaps only because the bearing and connection of a second very important Colophon in the same Codex have been strangely overlooked by our scholars.

"Frajapt pavan shnum shātih va rāmishn; Vahisht-baharak bōpāt Vishtāsp pūhar Lurāspānicha, va Zarīr, Bastūr i-Spendyāt pavan ham āyīnīn Fvashāvart-i-Jāmāspān va Gerāmik-Kart pūhar Jāmāsp, Pat-Khūsūrū va Pātīsū, mavan khūt-bōrt nām homandī Harvīn vāspūharkān gavān aērikhtārān gāsih ajpar bopāt, pavan

20. It may or may not be easy to explain why a scribe should make two copies of the same book for the same person, but we know that Mīhirāpan Kaikhusru subsequently made *two* copies of the Vendidad as well as of the Yasna, for Chāhil Sāngan. This Colophon occurs at the same point, *i.e.*, at the conclusion of the same fragment, in all the different Manuscripts from whatever source derived. But for this, it would have been possible to argue that Dinpanāh finished *one part* of his transcript on Roz Depādar, Māh Bahman, and another on Roz Gosh, Māh Ardibehesht.

Vahisht bāmik pavan asar-rōshanīh nīshīm varzāvandān! Harvīn awzūn bopāt, aigh rūbān anūshak bopāt! Aigh Dīnpanāh nīpisht hōmanēt, shāt pīrūz bopāt Shātān zāt! Puhar Shātān yakhshūnāt! Farkhō bopāt vad hazārān shantān gātānī-yōm frashkant āzāt mān magān mān! Harvīn chabūn awzun bopāt aightān khūt banā ramīt! Zakar ma(va)n karitūnēt farkho nīpik pavan hūnihātīh Rūstīm Matūn-Āpān sham ayībātīnet, mavan ash pachin nīpishtak yahavūnt.

Li dīn-bandak Matūn-Āpān Kaīkhūsrib nīpisht. Mavan karitūnēt lenman pavan nyokīh sham ayībātīnēt. Pavan tandunestīh pavan lidenman gēti āzāt, banā pavan vatartān-ī tan nīshīm varzāvandān!min dinik farzāndan mavan yahavūnt homānam nīpishtār baēn lidenman gēti āzāt! Shapīrān pīruz bopāe, saritar pazdēm dām!

“Completed with propitiation, rejoicing and delight! May Vishtasp, son of Luhrasp and Zarir, Bastur and Spendyāt, in the same manner, Frashāvart of Jāmāsp and Gerāmik-Kart, son of Jāmāsp, Pātklusru, and Pātgisu, who are bearers of (good) name, attain paradise! May all the princes, warriors and saviours have an exalted seat in the resplendent paradise, in endless light, the seat of the glorious! May every one of them be beneficent, that is, may the soul (of everyone of them) be immortal! *Since Dīnpanāh wrote this, may (he) born of Shāt be glad and glorious! May the son of Shāt preserve (these writings)! May the noble house and residence be auspicious for thousands (of) years, upto the day of the renovation! May every possession which you yourself secured be increasing!* May the man who reads these auspicious writings remember with good nature the name of Rustim Mehr-āwān who had written the book.”

“I, the servant of Faith, Mehr-āwān Kaīklusru copied it. May he who reads (the copies) remember our names with goodness! (May we be free) in this existence with soundness of the body! (May our souls have), moreover, the seat of the glorious after passing away

from the body ! (May I have) × × × from religious progeny, who have been a scribe, free in this existence ! May the good be victorious ! May the wicked creation be fallen ! ”

Now it is not difficult, for any one conversant with old Manuscripts, to see that this long statement is divisible into two parts *composed* by two different individuals, and that the last five lines only proceed direct and at first hand from Mihirāpān Kaikhusru himself. It is evident that he has here, as elsewhere, “copied in” the Colophon of an older copy made by Rustam Mehr-āwān before giving his own postscript. Indeed, it is clear that just as in K₁ and L₄ he has not only mentioned his source, but reproduced the very words of the Colophon of that source, (Aerdeshir Vohuman), so here, he has recopied for our benefit, not only the postscript *composed* by Rustam Mehrāwān for his own copy of these fragments, but the Colophon of that Manuscript of Dinpanāh’s which was Rustam’s prototype. Well then, if Rustam was Mihirāpān’s source, and Dinpanāh Rustam’s, when did the two last scribes flourish ? Rustam’s own statement is undated, but there is indirect, and, therefore, all the more valuable, evidence in the Codex itself that the year in which he made his copy of the *Ayibātkārihā* transcribed by the Aerpat Dinpanāh was 627 A. 20 Y.=647 A. Y. and 1278 A. C. This stands out clearly from the *Patmānak i-Katak Khūtāih* or Form of a Marriage Contract which occurs on folio 142 of the old Codex, and begins thus :

Dēn birākh Vohuman i-shnat 627 ākhar min shnat-i 20-i vala i-i Yazdakārt malkān malkā-i-Shatrōiyārān nāp-i vala-i-i aparvōj Khusro-i-malkān malkā-i-Auharmazdān, frāz-visist yom-i Dadū pavan Mitro amat vāchak -i shapir pavan hanjaman matār yehvunt havad pavan pātakshshihā neshaih vadidūnt-i gabra-i vāhmān shem vāhmān-i vāhmānān bera-i vāhmān rutastāk vāhmān mata vāhmān ketrunēt, va kanizak-hanā vāhmān shem, vāhmān-i-vāhmānān pātakshshahihā dukhti-ham vāhmān mata ketrunet, apash aetuno mat yekavimūnet pavan sardārih-i-vāhmān abu chigun amatash neshaih va dūktakānih pavan rās-i stōrih, va-aivakanih-i aish patash la mat yekavimūnet.

"In the month Vohuman of the year 627 after the year 20 of that one who was Yazdakart, King of Kings, son of Shatroiyar and grand-son of that one who was the victorious Khusro, King of Kings and son of Auarmazd, on the chosen day Dadu-pavan Mitro (16 November 1278), when good statements have been coming into the assembly as to a privileged marriage, contracted by a certain man named A, son of B, son of C, which A resides in the town D of the district E, and a certain girl named F, the privileged daughter of G son of H, who resides in the same district E; and so she has come into the guardianship of the father of A, as though her marriage and daughterhood were by way of adoption, and the union of some one with her had not occurred." 22

It is scarcely necessary to remind you of the practice of determining the dates of Khordah Avesta Manuscripts according to the number of the year or the century inserted in the Ashirvad, 23 and this '*Patmānak*' leaves little room for doubt that Rustam wrote in 1278, A. C. and that Mihirāpān Kaikhusru's transcript of the texts included in this volume was not made directly from Dinpanāh's Manuscript, but from Rustam's copy of the same. Now it seems to me that there is in the Colophon composed by Rustam himself, evidence showing that *Shazāt, the patron of Dinpanāh, was alive when Rustam wrote the postscript which cannot be dated earlier than 627 A. 20. Y. 1278 A. C.* 24

The words of Rustam to which I would invite your particular attention are :—

"Since Dinpanah wrote this, may (he) born of Shāt be glad and glorious! May the son of Shāt preserve (these writings)!

22. West, in Grundriss, II. 119.

23. Geldner, Avesta, Prolegomena. iv. v; West, Grundriss, II. 115, Shahriarji, Neriiosengh's Sanscrit Writings, Part I, Preface, *passim*.

24. This is in complete accord with what we know of Rustam's date from other sources. He wrote the Pahlavi Visparad at Anklesar on Roz Āsmān, Māh Spendārmad, of the *Parsi* year, 627, i. e., 627 A. 20 Y. = 1278 A.C. Geldner, Avesta, Prolegomena, vii. West, Grundriss, II. 87.

May the noble house and residence be auspicious for thousands (of) years upto the day of the renovation! May every possession which you yourself secured be increasing! May the man who reads (these) auspicious writings remember with good nature, the name of Rustim Mehr-āwān who had written the book."

It seems to me difficult, to read these words with attention and resist the conclusion that the person who is blessed as Shāzāt is in the above lines, *must have been alive when Rustam composed them*. What sense could there have been in wishing the writings to be preserved by a *dead man*, as Shāzāt must have been, in 627 A. 20 Y. (647 A. Y.), if he had lived, as is supposed, in 324 A. Y.? And what meaning can words at all have, if expressions like those in the sentence, "May every possession which you yourself secured be increasing," can be used of a person who had flourished three centuries before the writer? I confess that I do not see how it is possible to understand these lines in any other sense than that of blessings and good-wishes addressed by Rustam to some great man of his own day, from whom he had received or expected favours, and I cannot see what object there could have been in making the particular reference to "the possessions you yourself secured," unless it was to specially include in the benedictory formula, the "personal gains" or acquisitions made by Shāzāt in his own life time, as distinguished from the "ancestral property" of his family, "the noble house and residence" of the sentence immediately preceding.

Now, if Shāzāt was alive when Rustam wrote these lines in 1278 A. C., Dinpanah, Shāzāt's scribe, must have lived about the same time, i. e. not earlier than the *thirteenth* century of the Christian era.²⁵ It of course follows that the Yazdajardi date of the Colophon

25. It is, perhaps, not unworthy of note that the epithet *Derziyat*, "May he live long", is applied to Dinpanah in both versions of the first Colophon, but is left out in the one composed later by Rustam Mehrāwān, who wishes long life and prosperity, gladness and glory—to Shāzāt only. If would be, of course,

is not 324 A. Y. but 624 A. Y., corresponding with Shaka 1177, and 1255 A. C., as West rightly conjectured.²⁶

I do not mean to say that this argument is absolutely conclusive. Indeed, I do not believe that anything like *demonstration* is attainable in questions of this sort, but I do think that these points are worthy of serious consideration, as the evidence from other sources is so unsatisfactory.

easy to say that there is no special significance in the omission, but it is also possible to maintain that it is not without a meaning, and that when Rustam composed these lines in 1278 A. C. Dinpanāh himself was dead, though his patron Shāzāt was alive. The point is not without interest, but it may be as well to say that *its decision one way or the other has no bearing on the main argument*. It may be also pointed out that in JE and its sister-Manuscripts, the words before Shāzāt's name are "*Derzīvāt Shāt-zivāt*," "May he live long, may he live in joy." This additional phrase, *shāt-zivāt*, shows that it will not do to twist the meaning of the word *Derzīvāt* and suppose it to signify "May his *name* live long." Are we to suppose that it was his *name* and not himself that was to live in *joy* also? The truth is that *Derzīvāt* and *Derzīvashni* can apply only to the physical life on earth, and every Parsi wishes long life to himself, (*Derzīvashni*), *in this sense only*, when he recites the *Duā Tanaorasti* at the conclusion of his daily prayers.

26. It has been said after this was first written that there is not room enough in the line for the additional cipher for 3. The total length of the line, we are told, is only 4 inches and that of the portion left unattacked by the worms, $2\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Now the words *Shant Shash Sad* take up $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches of room in *another line* on the same page, and $2\frac{3}{8} + 1\frac{1}{2} = 4\frac{1}{8}$, therefore, it is argued that the line would be $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch too short and there would be no space for the word *baen* if we read *Shash Saš*. It would be a task of supererogation to undertake a serious refutation of this meticulous guess-work, but it may be pointed out to those who attach so much importance to this difference of $\frac{1}{8}$ of an inch in a line, that the number of *lines* which Mihirāpān writes to a page in this Codex varies from 14 to 22 (Introduction, p. 2). The attention of scholars may also be drawn to the similar conjecture made, *to no purpose*, by the Editor in three places of these Texts. In every one of these places, (p. 61, n. 80-81, p. 151, n. 94-95, p. 167, n. 6-7) he has made the remark, "MK torn, *but there is not room enough for the words*," and, yet, he himself has admitted all those words into his text, for the very good reason that they are indispensable and required by the context

But, supposing for a moment, that no reliance can be placed on this reasoning, the fact remains that there is no trustworthy evidence of the existence of a Parsi Firetemple at Broach in 324 A. Y. In other words, the result is merely negative. All that can be predicated with any confidence is that

1 Dinpanah made two copies of these *Ayibatkāriha* or Memoranda, in the course of one year,

2 that from one of these copies made on Roz Depādar, Māh Bahman, Rustam Mihr-āwān made another about 627 A. 20 Y. (1278 A. C.), from which last the Codex MK (or J) was transcribed at Thānā in 691 A. Y. (1322 A. C.),

3 that the other copy made on Roz Gosh, Māh Ardibehesht, was the source of a later transcript made by Kāmdin Shahryār, Neriosangh Samand, (the grandfather of Peshotan Rām Kāmdin, the scribe of M 6) about 1340 A. C. that is, about fifty years—the length of two generations—before 1397 A. C., the date of M 6.”

4 that the Manuscripts designated JE, JU, TD and probably the others belonging to the Mehrji Rana Library of Navsari, Ervad Mānekji Rustamji Unwāllā and the late Dastur Rustamji Kaikobādji Meherji Rānā are all derived more or less remotely from this copy of Kāmdin Shahryār’s” and

27. Hoshangji and Haug, Book of Ardāvirāf, Introductory Essays, iv-v. West, Pahlavi Texts, I. xxix—xxx.
28. Their agreement in the “numerous repetitions, additions, omissions, accidental disturbances and incorrect or singular readings,” recorded in the foot-notes, proves this sufficiently. It is probable that some portions of this copy of Kāmdin Shahryār’s or of a very early transcript of the same still survive in the imperfect Codex DP or Pt, the contents of which are described by West, Grundriss, II. 115. Unfortunately, the conjecture is incapable of proof or disproof, as it is clear from West’s account that the old Codex has lost its Colophon.

5 that it is impossible to say anything more of the year in which Dinpanāh made the two copies above referred to, than that it was the 24th of some Yazdajardi Century and 77th of some Shaka Century, which it is impossible to determine in the present state of our knowledge.²⁹

29. I may take this opportunity of pointing out the *correct* reading of the Note in "old obscure Gujarati" which has been prefixed by Jamshed Jamasp to the *Nirang-i-Khartastor zatan* copied by him from the old Codex. It is એ અસલ ઉકરાટીકે ફરદ લખેલું હુવું તેની નકલ લખીછે. "The original was written on the *reverse* of the *folio*, and of it this is a copy." ઉકરાટું according to the *Narmakosh*, means ઓડું ફરવેલું એવું. ઉકરાટ સુકરાટ means in Marathi, a upside down, ઉકરાટા, Reverse, inverse; and ઉકરાટજે. To turn over, to turn upon the contrary face or side (Molesworth, Marathi Dictionary s. v.) ફરદ is the Persian word 'fard', one, single, a leaf, a folio. (Richardson, Persian Dictionary, s v.)

MAHRVAID.

A paper read before Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Research on the 30th of October 1914.

The name of Mahrvaïd, a Zoroastrian physician who is said to have lived in Navsāri in the "spacious days" of the Emperor Akbar, and to have been rewarded by that sovereign with a Jāgir or In'ām, for having given to one of the beauties of his Harem relief from suffering, after the signal failure of the Imperial leeches is, no doubt, familiar to many of you. It may be even said that stories of Mahrvaïd's cures occupy no unimportant place in Parsi folklore, and they have not unfrequently been repeated or referred to in our periodical literature¹. At the same time, I am not aware of any one having been able to prove so much as the existence of such a person, and the laborious and painstaking compiler of the *Pārsi Prakāśh* could not find a word to say about him in that voluminous publication. It is possible, therefore, that some persons will be surprised to hear that the tradition is based on a solid substratum of fact, and that documentary evidence of a very interesting and convincing character can be adduced in support of its *main* features.

It is now eighteen years since I discovered in the possession of an ancient Āthravan of Navsari, and rescued from the fate which has overtaken so many other records of our history, a bundle of Persian and Gujarāti documents in which were included the oldest original papers in existence relating to our ancestors. The

1. Letter of 22. 2. in *Jāme Jamshed*, 20-8-1896; *Satya Mitra*, 16-8-1896.

majority of them had for their subject the Jāgir originally bestowed by the Emperor Akbar on Dastur Meherji Rānā, about whom there was raging at that time (1896) in the Parsi periodicals, a fierce controversy. A glance was sufficient to bring home to my mind their great importance anent the question at issue, and many of them were soon afterwards transcribed and translated with a view to publication in a monograph which I contemplated writing on the matter. When indifferent health and other adverse circumstances forbade the fulfilment of that hope, a few which appeared to bear directly on the point in dispute were selected by myself and lent to Ervad Jivanji Jamshedjī Mody for the paper which he was compiling on that subject. It is due to the memory of their real owner, the late Ervad Hormasji Bahrāmji Dastur, to say, that all but two of the remarkable documents photolithographed in the " Parsees at the Court of Akbar " belonged to the collection which he had placed at my disposal, and which had been repeatedly examined and studied by myself many years before they there appeared in print. By far the largest number of these papers are still unpublished, and I have great pleasure in submitting for your inspection tonight, some of the most important of those which relate to Mahrvaid and tell us much that is new about him and his forbears.

Well then, who was Mahrvaid, when did he flourish, and what position did he occupy among the men of his time?

In the first place, then, we learn from the Persian Revāyets, which have not, I regret to say, been explored half so thoroughly for historical matter as they might have been, that " Behdin Mahr Sāgar Tabīb " (the Physician) and his father as well as grandfather were prominent residents of Navsāri in the Sixteenth Century.

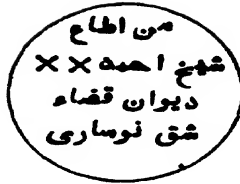
Mahr's name occurs in the Superscription of the letter² which is stated to have been indited at Yazd on Roz Bahman,

2. My Revāyāt MS written by Dastur Mahrnush Kaikobād in 1022 A. Y. folio 213 a.

Māh Bahman, 922 A. Y. (26th August, 1553 A. C.)³, and was brought by the Behdin Kāus Kāmdin. Going back a little, the name of Behdin Tabib Shāyer, Mahr's father, is found in the list of Navsāri notables prefixed to a Revāyet which is quoted in the collection of Dārāb Hormazdyār as the Revāyet-i-Aspandiyār Sohrāb and is dated about 1520 A. C.⁴ A few years earlier, the name of Kāmdin Tabib occurs in the Revāyet-i-Behdin Jāsā which is dated Roz Daipādar, Māh Abān, 885 A. Y. (12th June, 1516 A. C.), and is probably identical with the Maktūb-i-Mānek Chāngā.⁵

The full name of Sāyer's father was Kāmdin Āsā, and among my papers, there is a long but very interesting saledeed, in which the signature of Vaid (Physician) Sāyer Kāmdin appears as that of one of the witnesses.

3. This is the date accepted by West, in *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II. 126 and by Mody in *The Parsis at the Court of Akbar*, 128, 132, but it is not unassailable or altogether free from question. It occurs in all the copies that I have seen, (my old Revāyet Ms of 1022 A. Y. folio 220 b, Ervad M. R. Unwālā's MS p. 190, and Dastur Erachji S. Meherji Rānā's MS. in the Navsari Library), in a disconnected sentence in the middle of the Revāyet, the actual words taking the unusual form, "*as ān šārikk az Yazd āmad, Māh Bahman roz Bahman, 922.*" It is plain that this is not the original colophon, but the interpolated note or paraphrase of some later scribe. At the same time, the names show that the date cannot be very wrong and that the letter was written in the sixth or seventh decade of the sixteenth century A. C. I hope to discuss the question more fully in another paper.
4. My Revāyet MS., folio 135 a, 138 b; M. R. Unwalla's Lithograph, II. 447, 450; *Parsi Prakāsh*, 843. The date is given as Roz Anirān, Māh Bahman, and the year is not mentioned, but there can be little doubt that West is right in conjecturing it to have been written about 1520 A. C. *Grundriss*, II. 125.
5. My Revāyet Ms. of 1022 A. Y. folio 97 a.
West, *Grundriss*. II. 125. See *ante* p. 44, where all the Navsāri names are given.



اقرار کرد و اعتراف نمود مسمی ملک مبارک
[یوسف] که وکیل است از قبل مسماة عصمت خاتون
هنت چمبت اللہ محمّد قوم ملکچو احمد کهتری
بت الوکالت بهذین الشاہدین

مسمی م

مسمی م

سید میرن فضل اللہ

احمد نصرت کهتری

فی حال یصح اقراره شرعاً فی الوجوه کلها بر اینجمله
سی دو بیکر نوزده بسوه زمین بهاتهر داخل سواد قصبه
نوساری محدوده بدین حدود

قطع دوم

قطع اول

طرف شمالی [بابت خریدگی]
از نرسنگ باجا مغ

طرف جنوبی خرید بابت راغان
کانیان مغ

ط ۵ بیکها ۵ بیکها ۱۵ بیکها
۴ بسوه ۴ بسوه ۸ بسوه

ط ۱۷ بیکها
۵ بسوه

شرقی متصل کشت
غربی متصل کهدی که
انعام کامدین طرف لب آب
آسا طبیب است

شرقی متصل زمین
غربی متصل زمین
انعام میان ابن
ابو سعید
راغان کامدین
ادپاروو کهدی
که طرف لب
آب است

جنوبی متصل قطعه
شمالی متصل کهدی و
اول محدوده راه موضع تپوری
مذکوره

جنوبی متصل زمین
شمالی متصل قطعه دوم
دپنپال اسک
میر و زمین
انعام میان
مذکوره

این قطعات زمین مكدوده موصوفه مذكوره و چهل
 درختان تاربانگرة و [خورد و چند] درخت كهجورى حق
 و ملك و در قبض و تصرف موكلم مقرر مذكور است و
 موكلم مقرر مذكور را بدل بعض مهر مسمى ملكه و شوهر
 موكلم مقرر مذكور بخشیده است و بر ثبوت ملكيت و
 قبض و تصرف موكلم مذكور بر نمطه مسطور پيش قاضى
 تاج الدين مكرم حاكم شق قصه مذكور اخبار کردند
 مستى ص مستى ص

خواجر عثمان منور سيد مير فضل الله

بعده مقرر مذكور آن قطعات زمین مكدوده مذكوره
 و اشجار تار و كهجورى خورد و بزرگ با جملگی
 حدود و حقوق مرافق داخلي و خارجي و مایضاف
 و ينسب الرها و مسيل ماءها و طرقها بقيمت عدل
 و ثمن مبلغ پانصد فدير در فدير دوازده دوكره كمر
 نیم آن باشد دو یست و پنجاه فدير موصوفه بدست
 مانك چانگا دیساهی بیع کرد و فروخت و مقبوض
 او گردانید و مانك چانگا مذکور قطعات زمین مكدوده
 مذكوره و اشجار مذكور بر بیع صاکیح شرعی بمال
 مذكور از مقرر مذكور خرید و در قبض و تصرف خود
 آورد و ثمن زمین مكدوده مذكوره باداي مانك
 مشتري مذكور بصقر مذكور واصل شد و تقاضی بدلین
 بین الفریقین بر سبیل تمام و کمال شد قرار آنکه بعد ازین
 تاریخ مقرر مذكور را و یا موكلم مقرر مذكور را سبب
 دو قطعات زمین بهاتهر مكدوده مذكوره و اشجار
 مذكور با مشتري مذكور و یا قبل مشتري مذكور

دعوي و طلبي و تعلقي نيست و نماند اگر ثاني حال
مقر مذکور و يا کسي قائم موکل من مذکور جهت
زمين ماحدوده مذکوره و اشجار مذکور و ثمن زمين
مذکور با مانک مشتري مذکور و يا قبل مشتري مذکور
دعوي کند آن دعوي من کل الوجوه باطل و عاقل و لا
مسموع و مردود گردد پيچيرين جمله اعتراف نمود
و اين خط بر سبيل حجت داد تا ثاني حال حجت
باشد في تاريخ السابع من شهر شوال سنه ثلاث
و عشرين و تسع مائه

عرض في ديوان قضاء شق نوساری بمحضضر المحاکم
شق مذکور

کاتب الخط

مبارک يوسف

شهد علي اقراره بما فيه

ابراهيم قاسم بخطه

گواه شد	گواه شد	گواه شد	گواه شد
عثمان منور	سيد	مير فضل الله	بخطه
بخطه	بخطه	بخطه	بخطه
گواه شد	گواه شد	گواه شد	گواه شد
Illegible	دولت فتح الله	قاضي احمد	حاجي مادن
	منهاج بخطه	X X X	بخطه
گواه شد	گواه شد	گواه شد	گواه شد
سلطان فرید	جماع فرید	Illegible	لادو فرید
بخطه	بخطه		بخطه

۱ विध सायर कामदीन शाक्षि.

१ पुरसेद अ. यांदा शाभ.

१ पुरसेद याया शाक्षि.

१ मह' कीडा सुत मह'द साभ.

१ यो. वाधा सुत तेजपाल साभ.

१ अयदल इते मोहामद साभ.-"

He who
obeys [God], Sheikh
Ahmad * * *. The
Court of the Qāzi
of the Navsari
Division.⁷

The person named Malik Mubārak Yusuf who is agent [Wakil] on behalf of *Musammāt*⁸ Ismat Khātun, daughter of Haibatallāh Mahammad of the tribe [or family] of Malikji, and Ahmad Khatri, whose authority to act as her agent is proved by the two witnesses named Ahmed Nusrat Khatri and Sayyad Miran Fazlallāh, affirmed and admitted and in the soundest state [of mind], made an acknowledgment legal in all respects to this effect, that [there are] thirty-two Binghās and nineteen Biswahs⁹ of Bhāthhā land¹⁰ in the environs of the township of Navsārī, of which the boundaries are as under:

7. *Shiqq*, "a large division of a country forming a collectorate." Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*. s. v.; "An aggregate of land from which a certain revenue is collected." H. H. Wilson, *A Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*. s. v. "The words used before Akbar's time to represent tracts of country larger than a Parganah, were," says Elliot, "*Shakk*, *Khitta*, *'Arsa*, *Diar*, *Vilayat*, * * *Iktā*. Thus in the early historical writers, before the close of the fourteenth Century, we find *Shakk-i-Samānah*, *Khitta-i-Oudh*, *'Arsa-i-Gorakhpur* (this term is rarely used for any other tract) *Diar-i-Lakhnauti*, *Vilayat-i-Mion-i-Doāb*, and *Iktā-i-Karra*." Elliot, *Memoirs of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India*, ed. Beames. II. 202.
 8. Feminine form of the Arabic *Mūsammah*, named. *Musammāt*. A title prefixed in Hindustan to the names of respectable women in public documents and judicial proceedings. H. H. Wilson, *Glossary of Revenue and Judicial Terms*. s. v.
 9. Lit. a twentieth, but applied especially to the twentieth part of a Binghā, Wilson. *Op. Cit.* s. v.
 10. Bhātu, also read Bhātū, Guz (भट्ट), Land subject to inundation, or deposited by returning floods; alluvial soil. Wilson, *Op. Cit.* Additions and Corrections, p. 572. s. v. Bhāti, Mahr. भट्टी, Rich soil along the banks of rivers, creeks etc. Ibid. p. 79 s. v.
- भट्ट. A Shoal, a Shallow, a Sandbank. Belsore, Gujarāt—English Dictionary. s. v.

The First piece.

On the South,

The field bought by the Firewor-
shipper (*Mugh*) Rānā Kāniān.

Length & Breadth.

17 Binghas and [11] Biswahs.

The Second piece.

On the North,

The field bought by Narsang Hā-
jā¹¹ the Fireworshipper (*Mugh*).

Length & Breadth.

5 Binghās — [10] Binghās.

4 Biswahs — 4 Biswahs,

15 Binghās 8 Biswahs.

On the East.

Adjoining the In'ām of Miān son
of S'aid.

On the West.

Adjoining the land of Rānān
Kāmdin, the Parsi Priest (*adhyāru*),
and the ditch (*Khadi*) which is to-
wards the river bank.

On the South.

Adjoining the land of Dhanpāl
Āsag Mir and the In'ām land of
Miān the son of [S'aid] aforesaid.
Waste land.

On the North.

Adjoining the Second piece be-
longing to Narsang Hājā, the Fire-
worshipper (*Mugh*).

On the East.

Adjoining THE IN'ĀM FIELD
OF KĀMDIN SON OF ĀSĀ
TABIB (the Physician),

On the West.

Adjoining the ditch (*Khadi*) which
is towards the river bank.

On the South.

Adjoining the first piece with the
boundaries described.

On the North.

Adjoining the ditch (*Khadi*) and
the road to the village of Tewri:¹²

11. So in the original, but the real name was probably *Chāchā*. See the third of the six signatures in Gujarātī at the end of this document (પુરણે ચાચા). The name of Dastur Chāchā Wāchā occurs in the Revāyet of Jāsā (1516 A. C.). My Revāyet MS., folio 97 a and *ante*, p. 44.

12. A village still known by the same name in the immediate vicinity of Navsāri and on the other side of the river Purnā.

That these pieces of land with the boundaries described above, and forty Tād trees, large (*Bāngrā*) and [small, and several] wild-date (*Khajuri*) trees are the right and property of, and in the possession and custody of, the said principal of the said deponents, on whom Malikjiv, the husband of the said principal, had bestowed them in lieu of a part of her dower (*Mahr*), and that the proofs of her appropriation and possession and custody of the same have been notified to Qāzi Tājuddin Mahammad, Judge (*Hākim*) of the Division of the said township of Navsāri, by the persons named Khwājāh Usmān Munawwar and Sayyad Mir Fazallāh. Afterwards, the said deponent sold and vended and handed over possession of the said pieces of land with the above-mentioned boundaries, with the Tād trees and wild-date trees, small and large, and with all the boundaries and all the appurtenances, external and internal pertaining and belonging thereunto, and all waterways and highways, to Mānek Chāngā Desāi,¹³ for the just value and price of five hundred Faddiahs, [a sum] of which two hundred and fifty Faddiahs are the half, each such Faddiah to be equivalent to twelve Dokdās. And the said Mānek Chāngā has bought and taken into his own possession the said pieces of land, bounded as hereinbefore mentioned, together with the trees aforesaid, by lawful and valid purchase, for the said sum from the said deponents. And the price of the land, bounded as hereinbefore mentioned, has come into the hands of (lit. reached) the said deponents by payment from the said purchaser, Mānek Chāngā, and the mutual surrender of the two things exchanged, [the land and the money], has taken place in the fullest and completest manner. Agreed, that after

13. Mānek Chāngā is given by the Irānian writers of the Revāyet of 896 A. Y. (1527 A. C.) the title of *Dahyovād*, which they appear to have thought the nearest Persian equivalent of the Indian *Desai*. Meherji Rana Library, MS of the Revāyet (No 30, Catalogue p. 72), folio 1 a and 144 b. Bahman Kaikobād, following in their wake, has bestowed the same epithet on Mānek's father, Chāngā in the *Qissah-i-Sanjān*, see *ante*, 114 and note.

this date, the said deponents or the principal of the said deponents shall have no claim or title or connection in respect of the two pieces of *Bhātthāh* land, bounded as hereinbefore mentioned, or the said trees, against the said purchaser or his family. If in future, the said principal prefers any claim in respect of the land bounded, as hereinbefore mentioned, or the aforesaid trees or the price of the said land, against the said purchaser Mānek or his family, that claim shall in all ways and in all respects be void and invalid and unworthy of a hearing and rejected. All this they [the deponents] have admitted and they have given this document by way of proof, so that in future it may remain as evidence.

[Written] on the Seventh day of the Month of Shawwāl of the year Nine hundred and twenty three [A. H.=23 d October, 1517 A. C].

Heard in the court of the Qāzi of the Division of Navsāri, in the presence of the Judge (Hākīm) of the said Division.

Writer of this document,

Mubārak Yusuf.

(I witness what is affirmed herein.

Ibrāhim Qāsim, in [my own] hand.

Witnessed by

Usmān Munawwar in [my own] hand.

Witnessed by

Abu Usmān, in [my own] hand.

Witnessed by

(Illegible).

Witnessed by

Sayyad Mir Fazlallāh by order. *

Witnessed by

Fathallāh Minhāj in [my own] hand.

Witnessed by

Daulat Fathallāh Minhāj in [my own] hand.

Witnessed by

Qāzi Ahmad * * *.

Witnessed by

Sultān Farid, by order.

Witnessed by

(Illegible)

Witnessed by

Haji Mādan, by order.

Witnessed by

Jumā Farid, by order.

Witnessed by

Lādu Farid, by order,

1 VAID SĀYER KĀMDIN,
Witness.

1 Khurshed E[rvad] or A[dhyāru]
Chāndā, Witness.

1 Khurshed Chāchā, Witness.

1 Mahand son of Mah[an] or
Meh[tā] Kikā, Witness.

1 Cho [dhari?]¹⁴ Tejpāl son of
Vālā, Witness.

1 Abdal Fatte Mahāammad, Wit-
ness.

Rid of the verbiage which would seem to be inseparable from all legal instruments, whether drafted by English attorney or Indian Qāzi, this paper means that thirty-two Binghās of agricultural land which had been bestowed by a Musalmān, named Malikjiv, on his wife Ismat Khātun as part of her dower (*Mahr*), were purchased from the latter by Mānek Chāngā Desāi [of Navsāri] for five hundred Faddiahs, of twelve Dokdās the Faddiah. Now, this document is important for more than one reason. In the first place, it is obvious to anyone

14. The *Chaudhari*, lit. a holder of four, perhaps share or profits. The headman of a village. Wilson, *Op. Cit.* s. v. A public officer in a village. Belsare. Gujarati-English Dictionary s. v.

acquainted with the etiquette which regulated our domestic relations in the Sixteenth century, that Mānek Chāngā would have never been, nay, would have never dreamt of being, explicitly designated as the Desāi of the township, if his father Chāngā Asā had been alive at the date of this document, (7th Shawwāl 923 A. H. 23rd October, 1517), to occupy that position of no small consequence in the administrative and rural economy of those times.¹⁵ In other words, this paper furnishes a time limit for the death of Chāngā Asā—a point of some interest in Parsi chronology. It is possibly within the recollection of some of those present, that, in a former paper, I drew the attention of scholars to the absence of the names of Chāngā Asā and Khurshed Kāmdin Sanjānā in the Superscription of Jāsā's Revāyet of 1516 A. C. (885 A. Y.), and made it the basis of the inference that Chāngā must have been dead sometime before the letter was written to which that Revāyet was the reply.¹⁷ And now, we have corroborative evidence of the same fact in this contemporary saleded, which is all the more valuable as belonging to an entirely different category of documents, and deriving its authority from the imprimatur of a Musulmān Qāzi,

15. Desāi. Mahr. देशई from S. देशाधिपति, the Superintendent or ruler of a Parganā or province, the principal revenue officer of a district, under the native government; the office was hereditary, and frequently recompensed by grants of land, so that the Desāi often became a kind of petty chief in the South of India. Wilson. *Op. Cit.* s. v.
16. See *ante*, p. 44 and note 28.
17. It must be borne in mind that the long lists of Parsi or Indian Zoroastrian names found in the Replies of the Iranian priests, which are known as the Persian Revyets, are transcribed *verbatim* from the Signatures appended to the original letters of Inquiry addressed by our ancestors to their distant coreligionists. In other words, the names subscribed in the Indian missive were superscribed in the same order in the Iranian answer. If, then, Chāngā Asā's name does not occur in the Iranian reply called the *Revāyet-i-Jāsā*, it must have been because that universally recognised leader was not alive to sign the original Letter of Interrogation of which the Responses are embodied in that *Revāyet*. The date of that Reply is Roz Depādar, Māh Abān, 885 A. Y. 12th June 1516 A. C. Supposing, then that the original letter was written only six months earlier, it follows that Chāngā's death must have taken place, at the latest, in December 1515 A. C.

instead of from Parsi sources. I need scarcely repeat here what I have said before in regard to the manner in which this fact, *the death of Chāngā some time before 1516 A. C.*, bears destructively upon and invalidates the new system of Parsi chronology put forward by Dr. J. J. Mody.

But the importance of this document does not terminate here. I have already pointed out that it contains the autograph signature of Vaid Sāyer Kāmdin, and that it shows that Mahr's father was alive in 923 A. H. (1517 A. C.) But it tells us something which is even more to the purpose. It is clear from the elaborate description of the boundaries of the two fields bought by Mānek Chāngā, that the second was contiguous to the IN'ĀM FIELD of KĀMDIN ĀSĀ TABIB,— words which leave no room for doubt that so early as 1517 A. C., that is to say, fifty-five years before the province of Gujarat came under the dominion of Akbar,¹⁸ the grand father of Mahrvaid was in possession of a Jāgir or In'ām—in the neighbourhood of Navsāri town.

This paper shows that Sāyer Kāmdin was alive in 923 A. H. (1517 A. C.) It becomes clear from the next document on my list that he was dead before the 30th of Safar, 952 A. H. (11th May, 1545 A. C.)



اقرار كرد و اعتراف نمود مسمى و امين بن جتربوچ
في حال يصح اقراره شرعاً في الوجوه كلها بر اينجمله

18. The *Khutbā* was read in Akbar's name in Ahmedābad on 14 Rajab, 980 A. H. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*. V. 343. Badāoni, Calcutta Text, II, 141; Lowe's translation, II. 145.
The Fort of Surat was taken on 23 Shawwāl, 980 A. H. *Tal. Akbari*, Ib. V. 350. Badāoni, Text, II. 145. Lowe, II. 149.

مقر مذکور سبب مبلغ هفتصد ندر در ندر دوکائی
 قدیم بابت قرض ازان سهودهل بن رکها عم مقر مذکور
 با مسمی مهروان بن سایر بن کامدین طیب دعوی
 میکرد بعد اصفا دعوی مذکور مهروان سایر مذکور
 جواب داد مبلغ هفتصد ندر در صدر حیات سایر
 مذکور برای سهودهل مذکور رسانید چنانچه مقر مذکور
 نیز قبول کرد باقی یکصد ده ندر مانده بود مقر مذکور
 ز مهروان مذکور نقد ستده و سبب هفتصد ندر مذکور
 کرا دعوی تمام و ابرای عام داد بعد ازین تاریخ اگر
 سی و نثر سهودهل مذکور بسبب مبلغهای مذکور با
 مهروان و کسان مهروان مذکور دعوی کند من کل الوجوه
 مقر مذکور عهده جواب شود همدرین جملہ معترف
 کشته ۳۰ ماه صفر سنه ۹۵۲

عرض فی دیوان
 قضاء حق نویاری
 ایضاً دو قطعہ خط
 کہ با اقرار سایر مذکور
 مقر مذکور گم شد ان
 خطہ مردود کرده است
 گواہ شد راول بن
 بسلا دوسی باذنہ
 علامت دستخط و امن
 مقر مذکور بقام ندوی

The servant of the
 Strong Law, hoping
 in Allāh the Deity,
 Mahammad Son of
 Mahmūd.

The person named Wāman son of Chaturbhuj affirmed and admitted, and in the soundest state [of mind], made an acknowledgment that is legal in all respects, that the deponent had sued a person named Mahrivān, son of Sāyer the son Kāmdin Tabib (Physician), for a debt of seven hundred Faddiahs, each

Faddiah equal to the old Dogāni,¹⁹ due to the uncle of the deponent, Sodhal son of Rakhā [or Raghā]. After the claim had been heard, the said Mahrhvān Sāyer stated in reply, that the sum of seven hundred Faddiahs had been delivered by the said Sāyer during his lifetime to the said Sodhal and (*lit.* so that) the said deponent also admitted [the fact]. The hundred and ten²⁰ Faddiahs which remained were taken in cash from the said Mahrhvān by the said deponent, who gave up entirely his claim and [also] an acquittance in full for the seven hundred Faddiahs. If after this date, any of the heirs of the aforesaid Sodhal prefers any claim anent the said sum against Mahrhvān or the relations of the said Mahrhvān, the said deponent will be answerable, in all respects, for the same, and for all that he has admitted hereinbefore.

The 30th of the month of Safar of the year 952 [A. H. 11th May, 1545 A. C.].

[On the margin.]

Before the Court of the Qāzi of the Division of Nāvsāri.

Also, two documents by which the said Sāyer had acknowledged his debt to the deponent, and which are lost, are cancelled.

Witnēss, Rāwal son of Bastā [Wastā,] Wasi,²¹ by his leave.

19. The " old dogāni " is here said to be equivalent to the Faddiah, four of which last made a Tanga (Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Fedea) according to Nunez in 1554. But according to the same authority, four Bārganyas also made a Tanga. Nunez in *Subsidior*, p. 31. quoted in Hobson-Jobson, s. v. Bargany). The *Old* dogāni must have therefore, been equivalent to the Bargany of Nunez.
20. So it is clearly written in the original, and can be explained only as standing for the accumulated interest.
21. *Wasi* and *Desai* are still common surnames among the better class of Anāvlā Brahmins in Navsari and Surat. The Anāvlās are so called from Anāval, a village about forty miles east of Surat, which is famous for its hot spring. Bombay Gazetteer-IX. Pt i. 4.

The mark [or signature] of the handwriting of Wāman the said deponent, in the Hindvi [i. e., Gujarāti] script.

Briefly, we have here what may be called "an order by consent" made by the Qāzi of Navsāri in a civil suit between a Hindū and a Pārsi. It would appear that Mahr Sāyer Tabib, i. e. Mahr-vaid was sued in the Qāzi's court by a Wāman Chaturbhuj for the sum of seven hundred Faddiahs, which Sāyer, Mahr's father, had borrowed from Sodhal Rakhā, [Raghā], Wāman's uncle. Mahr stated in reply and Wāman himself was obliged to admit that Sāyer had during his life time paid off seven hundred Faddiahs, and the claim was settled by Mahr's paying down in cash before the Qāzi, the balance due for interest etc. It is scarcely necessary to point out that all this implies that Sāyer had gone over to the majority before 952 A. H. (1545 A. C.), and that Mahr, who would then seem to have arrived at years of discretion, must have been born about 1520 A. C.

It is far from easy to say what the value of the Faddiah was in the middle of the Sixteenth century, and it would be still more difficult to determine its real equivalent in the money of our own day, but judging from the fact that the price paid by Mānek Chāngā in 1517 A. C., for thirty-two Binghās of land was Five hundred Faddiahs, it is clear that Seven hundred Faddiahs was not an inconsiderable sum, and that Sāyer, to whom it seems to have been lent by the Hindu merely on his personal security, must have been, *as things went then with our people*, a fairly prosperous Zoroastrian in the middle ranks of life.

In the first place, Yule and Burnell inform us that the " Fedea or Fuddea was a denomination of money formerly current in Bombay and the adjoining coast; *Mahr. Phaddyā* (qu. Arab. *Fidya*, ransom). It constantly occurs in the account statements of the 16th Century, e.g. of Nunez (1554), as a money of account, of which 4 went to the silver Tanga (see Tanga), and 20 to the *Pardao*. In

Milburn, (1813), it is a pice or copper coin of which 50 went to the Rupee. Prof. Robertson Smith suggests that this may be the Ar. denomination of a small coin used in Egypt, Fadda (i.e. silverling). * * *. But, according to Lane, the name was originally given to the half dirhems, coined early in the fifteenth century, and these would be worth about $5\frac{3}{4}$ d. The fedea of 1554 would be about $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. This rather indicates the indentity of the names."²²

Now taking the rupee at two shillings three pence," seven hundred Faddiahs would, at the higher rate of $5\frac{3}{4}$ d. be equivalent to a little less than 147 Rupees, and to a little more than 110 Rupees, at the lower rate of $4\frac{1}{4}$ d. for the Fedea of 1554 A. C.

Again, it appears from a passage in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, that during the battle between Sultan Qutbuddin Ahmedshāh of Gujarat and Rānā Kombhā in 861 A. H. (1457 A. C.), "a cup of water was sold for five *Phadiyās*, equivalent in that neighbourhood to twelve *Murādi tankāhs*."²³ Now, if we take the *Murādi* Tankāh, with Thomas, to be the same as the Double Akbari Dām, of which twenty went to the Rupee, five *Phadiyas* would be equivalent to $\frac{5}{2}$ of a Rupee, and Seven hundred Faddiyāhs would amount to 84 Rupees.

Let us now take the Fadiyah to be worth twelve Dokdās, as it is expressly stated to have been, in the saledeed of 923 A. H. (1517 A. C.). Wilson defines the Dokdā, as "a nominal

22. Hobson-Jobson, ed Crooke. s. v. Fedea.

23. Lane-Poole, Aurungzebe, Rulers of India Series, 120, note, and the authorities quoted there. If the rupee is taken at two shillings, the results will be 165 and 124 Rs. respectively.

24. *Mirāt-i-Sikandari* (written about 1611 A. C.). Bombay Lithograph. 1246 A.H. 66. Bayley, History of Gujarat, 141.

coin, one hundred of which are equal to one Rupee." " There is good reason to believe that the Dokdā, like other coins, was worth much less in Wilson's day than in the Sixteenth Century, and that it has "degenerated in value like many other denominations of money,"" but accepting *this low estimate*, the aggregate value of seven hundred Faddiās would be 84 Rupees. The question is beset by many difficulties, but I think we should not be far wrong in supposing the aggregate value of Seven hundred Faddiās in the Sixteenth Century to have been at least 100 Rupees, as the mean of the four results arrived at by four different gauges (147, 110, 84, and 84 Rs.) is 106 Rupees."

But then, the question arises, what would be the equivalent of 100 Rupees, in the money of our own day ? Writing in 1892, Sir William Hunter pronounced the opinion that " the purchasing power of silver, expressed in the staple food-grains of India was two or three times greater [under the Mughal Emperors] than now. " " This estimate is, probably, too low. We all know that Akbar's maund weighed 55 pounds and that his Rupee was divided into 40 Dāms. Now Abul Fazl tells us that about 1590 A. C. the prices of a maund of Wheat, Barley, Pulse, (३५), Moth (५३), Juwār, White Sugar, Brown Sugar, Ghee, Sesamum Oil, Salt and Milk were only 12, 8, 18, 12, 10, 128, 56, 105, 80, 16 and 25 Dāms respectively. As to the wages of labour, he informs us that they were 7 to

25. Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms. s. v.

26. Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson, ed. Crooke, 674 and note.

27. Milburn's estimate of 1813, it is scarcely necessary to discuss, as obviously belonging to a much later period. The writer of the historical Chapter in the *Bombay Gazetteer* (Thana) XIII, Pt. II. 455 note, has reduced Fedees to Rupees on the basis of thirty Fedees to a *Pardao* and two *Pardaos* to a Rupee, but he does not quote any authority.

28. The Indian Empire, 3rd edition, p. 353 note.

5 dāms per day for *Gilkārs* (workers in lime), 6 to 5 dāms per *gas* for stonemasons, 7 to 2 dāms for carpenters, and 2 dāms for sawyers etc." A comparison of these figures with the rates of the *last ten years* must convince any one that the purchasing power of money was, in the middle of the 16th Century, at least *four* times as great as it is now, and we may safely suppose that 700 Faddiāhs or about 100 Rupees were then equivalent to at least 400 Rupees of our own day.

These two lawpapers disposed of, we come to another which bears more directly still on the subject of this discourse. This is a Parwānā issued by Qulij Mahammad Khān, in favour of Mahr Tabib-i- Fārsi, the Parsi physician Mahr, in 98 -A. H.

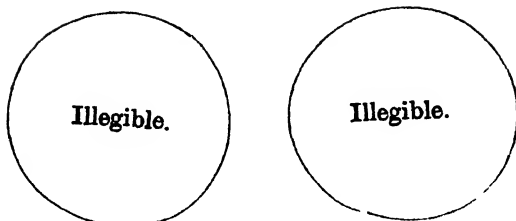
—و—

حکم شد که چون از قدیم الایام یک × × × × ×
 × زمین از سواد قصبر نوساری در خرچ مدد معاش
 مطیع الاسلام مهر طبیب فارسی مقرر بود ازین تاریخ
 بهمان دستور مقرر دانستر شقدار و عاملان قصبر
 نوساری زمین افتاده از کل جانب چک بستر جد
 ساختار بدهند بقوت خرد مزروع نموده صرف معاش
 خود نمایند در عهده خود دانستر در این باب
 فرض شناسند و تخلف نوزند مشهری القعدة مندر ۱۸



- 29 Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, 429-30, Blochmann, *Ain*. I, 62-64, 225. The purchasing power of money in Europe is believed to have been six times greater in 1500 A. C. than in 1852 A. C. d'Avenel, *Histoire des Prix*, passim. The depreciation which resulted from the discovery of the American mines did not really take effect until 1570 A. C. Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*. I. 187-202. F. A. Walker, *Money*, 135, 231-2. Cairnes, *Essays in Political Economy*, 124.

[On the reverse.]



ثبت شد
فی التاريخ

اطلعت عليه
فی التاريخ
۲۳ تا ۲۴ رسی
۱۲۳۱۴.

وقفت عليه
فی التاريخ

30. *Sabt shud*, *Waqafatu 'ilayh*, *Ata'atu 'ilayh*. These phrases appear to have been of the official terminology of the day. Each of them was peculiar to some departmental head, was used by him only when recording documents, and was a sort of password which was perfectly understood by his colleagues who were able at once to tell through what hands or offices the paper had passed. Other forms used in these papers are *Qalami shud*, *Rajū shud*, *Margūm shud*, *Mutall'a shud*, *Mutall'atu* etc.

Abul Fazl says, "If His Majesty gives the order to confer a Jāgir on the person specified in the *sarkhat*, the following words are entered on the top of the report; *Ta'aliqah-i-tan qalami numāyānd*, they are to write out a *Ta'aliqah-i-tan* (certificate of salary). This order suffices for the clerks; they keep and make out a draft to that effect. The draft is then inspected by the Diwan who verifies it by writing on it the words *Sabt numāyānd*, (ordered to be entered). The mark [*Nishan*] of the *Daftar* and the seal of the Diwan, the Bakhshi and the Accountant of the Diwan are put on the draft in order, when the imperial grant is written on the outside. The draft thus completed, is sent for signature to the Diwan."

Blochmann, *Zin*, I. 261; Calcutta Text, I 194.

Whereas one " * * * of land in the environs of the township of Navsāri had been, from ancient times, (*Qadīm-al-ayyām*) settled as a *Madad-i. Ma'āsh* ³⁵ on the Parsi Mahr Tabib (Physician) who is a protected subject of Islam (*Mutī' al-Islām*) ³⁶, it is hereby

976. 'Adī-Mujallī (?)
The Slave [of God],
Qulij Mahammad
Khān.

ordered that it should be regarded from this date as confirmed in the same wise. Let the Shiqdārs ³⁵ and Ā'mils ³⁶ of the township of Navsāri fix the boundaries on all sides of a piece of fallow ground and set it apart, and deliver it to him, that having tilled it according to his power, he may spend it [in providing] the means of subsistence. Let them know their duty and recognise their obligation [to obedience] in this matter, and do nothing contrary [to the same].

31. *Yā Hā* was the favourite Imperial exclamation at this time. Speaking of the year 983 A. H., Bādaoni says, "His Majesty [Akbar] spent whole nights in praising God; he continually occupied himself in saying *Yā Hū* [O He ! (God)] and *Yā Hādī*, [O Guide !]". *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, Calcutta Text, II. 200; Lowe's Translation, II, 203. Blochmann points out that "the frequent repetition of such names" was believed to be a means of knowledge and that some "Faquirs repeat them several thousand times a day." *Āin*. I. 170, note.
32. There is a word here which I cannot decipher or make anything of. It is probably the local name of some ancient measure of land which has long ceased to be used.
33. "His Majesty, from his desire to promote rank distinctions, confers lands and subsistence allowances on the following four classes of men; first, on enquirers after wisdom, who have withdrawn from all worldly occupations, and make no difference between night and daytime in searching after true knowledge; secondly, on such as toil and practise self-denial, and while engaged in the struggle with the selfish passions of human nature, have renounced the society of men; thirdly, on such as are weak and poor, and have no strength for inquiry; fourthly, on honourable men of gentle birth, who, from want of knowledge, are unable to provide for themselves by taking up a trade. Subsistence allowances, paid in cash, are called *Wazifah*; lands conferred are called *MILK* or *MADAD-I-MĀ'ĀSH*." Blochmann, *Āin*. I, 268; Calcutta Text, I, 198.
34. I take this to be synonymous with *Ahl-i-Zimma*, which Steingass defines as "People of the Book," i.e. Jews, Christians and *Majusi*, living under the protection of Islam." So the *Zimmi* "is one tolerated by the Muhammadan Law, on paying an annual poll-tax; a tributary, a client, a subject, a Christian, or Jew." Persian English Dictionary, s. v. *Zimma*. *Mutī' al-Islām* is used in this sense by Bādaoni, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. Bibl. Ind. Text. III. 81, and also by Khāfi Khān, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*. Bibl. Ind. Text. II. 255.
35. "Shiqdar, A revenue officer or collector, appointed either by the Government or a Zamindar to collect the revenue from a small tract of country, or from an estate; under the Moghal Government it was some times applied to the chief financial officer of a province, or to the viceroy in his financial capacity." Wilson, *Op. Cit.*, s. v. The word occurs in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Elliot and Dowson, History of India, V, 278, 284, 313, 360, 363 and 420.
36. 'Āmil, An intendant of finance, a revenue collector. Steingass. *Op. Cit.* s. v. "An officer of Government in the financial department, especially, a collector of revenue, on the part of the Government, or of the farmer of the revenue, also himself a farmer of, or collector for the revenue under the native system, and invested with supreme authority, both civil and military, in the district which he farmed, as is still the case in several native states, especially Ondh and Hyderabad. Wilson. *Op. Cit.* s. v.

Month Zi'lq'adah, of the year 98—
[On the other side].

Illegible.

Illegible.

Entered
on the date.

Received notice
of this on the date.

Was informed
of this
on the date.

Submitted on the
23d Zi'lq'ad.

The point that demands notice is that a piece of land is explicitly stated here to have been the *Madad-i-Ma'āsh* of Mahr Tabib from "ancient times," (*Qadim-al-ayyām*). Qulich Khān, therefore, does not profess to be making a new grant, or conferring an In'ām for the first time, but to be only confirming and sanctioning a very old one. In other words, we have here a corroboration of the statement occurring incidentally in the sale deed of 923 A. H. (1517 A. C.), about Kāmdin Āsā, Mahr's grandfather, having been in possession of a piece of In'ām land. It must also be remembered that the province of Gujarāt was conquered and the last feeble successor of Mahmūd Begadā driven from the throne by Akbar in 980 A. H. (1573 A. C.). It is evident that with the change of masters, it must have become necessary for the holders of all such charitable and service grants, to procure from the new ruler or his deputies, a confirmation of the privileges enjoyed by them under the old Government, and there can be no difficulty in seeing in this Parwānā, the result of the success of Mahrvaids' endeavours to ensure the continuance of his ancestral In'ām.⁸⁷

37 It is not easy to determine the year in which this *Sanad* was issued, as the units figure has disappeared, in the lapse of time, from the original. It is clear from the document which follows, that it was anterior to 989 A. H. It may have been signed and sealed by Qulij Khan as Governor of Surat, or as *Diwān* of the Empire. The *Maāsir-ul-Umarā* (Calcutta ed. III. 69) says that after the execution of Shāh Mansūr the *Diwān*, the

But this Sanad does not, for some reason, appear to have proved quite sufficient to secure Mahrvaïd from molestation by the local officers, and he seems to have been under the necessity of procuring, in 989 A. H., another formal grant to strengthen his position.

—

حضرت اعلیٰ خدایه
سلط ابد

حکم شد که داملان و متصدیان و دیسایان و قانون گویان
تصبر نوساری بدانند که چون مطیع الامام مهر طیب

فارسی مستحق است و از بیچ محل و جر معیشت
ندارد چون تصدق فرق مبارک بندگان حضرت موازی
چهار اول زمین مزروع و افتاده لایق زراعت از
مزروع
انفاده

۳ اول

اول

تصبر مذکور در و جر وظیفه او مقرر نموده شد باید که
چون بمضمون پروانچه مطلع شوند اراضی مذکور را از
تصبر مذکور چک بستر و جدا ساختن بدهند که بقوت
و استطاعت خود مزروع کرده حاصلات آنرا در و جر
معیشت خود صرف نموده تا فارغ البال بدوام دولت
قاہرہ اشتغال مینموده باشد در عہدہ دانستر درین
باب [قدغن] تمام لازم دانند و متخلف نوزرند تکرین
فی التاریخ ۲۱ شهر محرم الحرام ۹۸۹



"management of the affairs of the wazārat" was entrusted to Qulij Khan. The date on the seal is 976 [A.H.], which shows, not that the document was indited in that year, but that its date cannot be earlier than that year. People who were particular had new seals engraved annually, but the majority continued to employ the same old dated seal for many years. Numerous examples of the latter practice may be found even in the few documents embodied in this paper. For the biography of Qulij Khan see Blochmann, *Ain*, I 354-5, and *Maātir-ul-Umarā*, Calcutta ed. III. 69-74.

[On the reverse.]



۱۰۱. لکھل

مقرر است کہ موازی
کصد و نم لکھل کہ پوری
ملک داشتہ بتصری او
گذارند و تکلف نوزند

مطاع شد فی القاریخ ثبت شد فی القاریخ رقت فی القاریخ
ربیع الاول

برسالہ رای بہوانیہ اس مستوفی

Hil.

Order.

Let the Revenue-collectors, ('*Āmils*) and Officials (*Mutasaddis*)³⁸ and *Desāis* and *Qānungos*³⁹ of the township of Navsāri be informed that whereas the Parsi Mahr Tabib (Physician) is a deserving person, (*Mustahaq*) and does not possess any other means of subsistence, and whereas he has offered himself as a Sacrifice, (*Tasadduq*) for the blessed life (*lit.* head) of His Exalted Majesty, (May God perpetuate his dominion), the extent of four *Auls* [*Ols*]⁴⁰ of cultivated land and

38. Any inferior officer of Government, a clerk, an accountant. Steingass, s.v.

39. It would not be easy to improve upon Wilson's description of this officer's duties.

"Kānungo. Lit. an expounder of the laws, but applied in Hindustan, especially to village and district revenue officers, who under the former Government, recorded all circumstances within their sphere, which concerned landed property and the realization of the revenue, keeping registers of the value, tenure, extent and transfers of land, assisting in the measurements and survey of the land, reporting deaths, and successions of revenue payers, and explaining, when required, local practices and public regulations. They were paid by rent-free lands and various allowances and perquisites. Wilson. *Op. Cit.* s. v.

40 This may be read *Aul*, *Ol* or *Aval*. It is evidently the local name of some old unit of land-measurement, A land measure frequently met with in old Chālukya grants from Gujarat is the *Hala*, (H. H. Dhruva in Indian Antiquary. X. 159—160), which appears to have signified as much land as could be tilled by a single plough (*Hala*) in a day. *Hala* is used in the same sense in a Copper-plate grant of Govindchandradeva of

culturable waste, one Aul [*Ōl*] of cultivated and three Auls [*Ōls*] of culturable [waste], within the environs of the aforesaid township, has been settled upon him as his *Wazifah*.⁴¹ As soon as they receive intimation of the contents of this *Parwānah*,⁴² they (i.e. the *Āmils*, *Mutasaddis*, *Desāis* and *Qānungos*) should hand over to him the said land after fixing its boundaries and setting it apart, so that having tilled it according to his ability, he may spend the proceeds thereof in [providing] the

The Slave,
Biram, Son of
Qulij Sultān,
Sagzi, Yazdi [or
Bardi ?]

means of subsistence and devote himself with a tranquil mind to praying for the permanence of His Majesty's Powerful Kingdom. Let them know their duty and regard obedience in this matter as a positive obligation and do nothing contrary to the same. Written on the 21st of the sacred month of Muharram 989 [A.H. 25th February 1581.]

Kanauj, dated Vikram Samvat 1188, (A.C. 1131.) *Ib.* XIX. 250. An inscription in an Ahmedābād mosque records the grant of six *ploughs* of land to Malik Sha'abān and his descendants in 858 A. H. (1452 A.C.) in the reign of Qutbuddin Ahmedshāh II of Gujarat. Burgess, *The Mahammadan Architecture of Ahmedābād*, Part I. 55. Horowitz, *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, 1909-10, p. 42. A similar measure is the *Sānthi* (plough), still in every day use in Kathiawar, which signifies exactly the same, Belsare, Gujarati-English Dictionary; s. v.; Kattyawar Gazetteer, 178. Wilson takes the *Sānthi* to be equal to either 60 or 90 Bighās of land, each bighā being only 160 yards by 10 (1600 yds). *Op. Cit.* s. v. The Hal or Hōl appears to have been in use even in comparatively recent times in the Navsāri district, for a sanad is quoted in S. M. Desai's *History of Navsari*, by which four *hōls* of land were conferred by the Gāikwad in Vikram Samvat 1868 (1812 A.C.) on the sons of Behdin Jivanji Kaduji for the services of their father against the turbulent Bhils of the Dāng jungles. Mr. Desai adds in a note that fifteen Bighās make a *Hōl*. *Tawārīkh-i-Navsāri*. 344 and note.

41 *Wazifah* is here used, not in the sense of a pension or stipend *in money*, but in that of "a grant of land rent free, or at a quit—rent, to pious persons, or for past services". Wilson, *Op. Cit.* s. v.

42 "*Parwānchas* are made out for the stipulated salaries of the Begums and the princes, for the stipends of the people under the care of the *Diwān-i-S'audat*, (vide *Āin*. 19), the salaries of the *Āhādīs*, *chelaḥs* and of some officers in the workshop, and for the allowances on account of the food of the *Bārgir* horses." Blochmann, *Āin*. I 263. The *Diwān-i-S'audat* was the clerk who assisted the *Sadr* in the financial business of *Siyurghāls*, i.e. lands and subsistence allowances (*Madad-i-Māsh* and *Wazifah*), granted to the four classes mentioned in the passage quoted in note 33.

[On the margin.]

109 Wild-date trees.

It is resolved that the one hundred and nine wild-date trees belonging to his property (*Milk*)* should be left in his possession, and nothing should be done to the contrary.

[On the other side].



Was informed on
on the date—Rabi'
—al-Awwal.

Entered
on
the date.

Was notified
on the
date.

In the *Resālah* of Rai Bhawānidās the *Mustaufi*.*

After this, there is a long and perhaps lamentable 'solution of continuity' in my papers, and we hear nothing of Mahr's In'am for nearly fifty years. There is nothing improbable, however, in the supposition that he continued to enjoy its proceeds so long as he lived. When he died it is impossible to say, but it is clear from the following *Sanad*, that a son or grandson of Mahrvaid's named, (after the latter's grandfather), Qiām or Kāmdin, was presented to the Emperor Jehān-

43 The word is used here in the technical sense of *Madad-i-Maqsh*, which is given as its equivalent in the passage quoted from *Ain*, Book II. 19 (Blochmann, *Ain*. I, 268) in note 33.

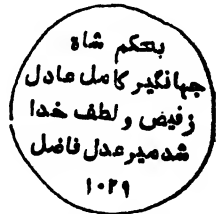
44 Here as in *Ain*, Book, II, 10, (Calcutta Text I. p. 193) *Risālah* stands for *Risālahdar*, as in later times, *Subah* was used for *Subahdar*. The *Risālahdar*, the *Wāqi'a navis*, the Mir 'Arz and the Darogah had, says Abul Fazl, to sign and seal the *yāddasht*, i.e. the daily report or memorandum of orders etc. passed by the Emperor. Blochmann, *Ain*. I. 259 and note.

Mustaufi. An auditor of accounts, a controller. Steingass. Abul Fazl says, "In the case of *Siyurghāls*, (vide *Ain* 19), the *Farmāns* after having been signed by the *Mustaufi*, are entered in the *Dafstars* of the *Diwān-i-Saddat* (vide *Ain* 19), they are then signed and sealed by the *Sadr* and the *Diwān-i-Kul*." Blochmann, *Ain*. I. 262; see also, I. 264.

gir and succeeded in procuring an order for the continuance of *Mahr's* In'ām to himself and his descendants (*bā Farzandān*), in the twenty-first year of the reign of that Monarch, which began on the 10th Jumādu-s-Sāni 1035 A. H. (27th February, 1626 A. C.).

الله اکبر

گماشتهای متصدیان مهمات حال و استقبال سواد
قصر نوساری سرکار صورت را اعلام آنکر چون مهر



طیب موازی پنجاه بیگر زمین با چند درخت خرما
مقبوضه قدیم در سواد قصر مذکوره داشته درینولا
که قیام پارسی بدرگاه خلایق پناه آمده از نظر اشرف
قدس گذشت و حقیقت بعرض مقدس رسید حکم
جهانمطاع آفتاب شعاع گردون ارتفاع ۱۳ ماه الهی
منه ۲۱ شرف صدور و عز ورود یافت که موازی
مذکور با درختان من ابتداء ربیع توشقان سل در وجر
مدد معاش مشارالیه با فرزندان مقرر و مغوض باشد
باید که در استمرار و استقرار اینحکم اقدس اعلی
کوشیده زمین مذکور را پیموده و چک بستر بتصرف
آنها واگذارند تا حاصلات انرا صرف معیشت خود نموده
بدعا گوی دوام دولت ابد اتصال اشتغال مینموده باشند
و هر سال پروانچهره مجدد نطلبند و اگر در محل دیگر
زمین داشته باشند انرا اعتبار نمایند درین باب
قدغن لازم داند تکریراً فی ۷ ماه اسفندارمز منه ۲۱

Allāh is the Greatest.

Let the agents (Gumāshtāh) of the Officials (Mutasaddis), present

Illegible.

Illegible..

and future, of the environs of the township of Navsāri in the revenue

By the order of the
just and perfect
Emperor Jehāngir, Fāzil
became Mir-i-Adl⁴⁵
through the grace and
bounty of God.

District (*Sarkār*)⁴⁶ of Surat take notice that where as Mahr Tabib (Physician) was in long-standing possession (*magbusa-i-qadīm*) of fifty Binghās' extent of land with some wild-date (*Khajuri*) trees thereon, and whereas the Parsi Qiām has, at present, arrived at the Court which is the Asylum

of the Universe, and passed before the Heavenly eyes [of His Majesty,] and the real circumstances have been stated in the august Presence, those commands which are universally obeyed, lustrous as the sun, and exalted as the heavens, have received, on the 13th of the Ilāhi month of the 21st year, the honour of proclamation and the dignity of publication, that the said extent [of land], with the trees thereon should be confirmed and settled as a *Madad-i-Maāsh* upon the

45 An officer of Justice, a superintendent of the courts, who revised the decisions of the Qāzis and judges, passed sentence and ordered punishment. Wilson, *Op. Cit.* s. v. Jarrett, *Āin*, II., 41. The seal is probably that of Āqā Fāzil or Fāzil Khan, who was some years later, 1040-1041. A. H. Diwān of Gujarat, *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi*, Bombay Lithograph. I. 218.

46 Sarkār. "An extensive division of country under the Mohammadan government, a subdivision of a *Subah*, containing many *Parganahs*, a district, a province: in this sense, it has been usually, though incorrectly, written *Circars*, as in the case of the Northern *Circars*," Wilson. *Op. cit.* s. v. For a masterly disquisition on the Sarkārs included under Akbar in the North Western Provinces, see Elliot, *Memoirs of the Races of the North Western Provinces of India*, ed. Beames, II, 82-146.

aforesaid Qiām and his descendants (*bā Farzandān*)⁴⁷, from the commencement of the spring of the *Tushkān Eel* ⁴⁸. In pursuance of and in obedience to these august and exalted mandates, the said land should be measured and its boundaries fixed and delivered over to their possession, so that they may spend the proceeds thereof [in providing] the means of subsistence and occupy themselves in praying for the continuance of His Majesty's everlasting Kingdom. And let them not demand from them fresh Parwānās every year, ⁴⁹ and if they possess land elsewhere, that ought not to be taken into account. The execution of these orders should be regarded as a positive obligation. Written on the 7th of Isfandārmaz in the 21st year. [1035 A. H. 1626 A. C.]⁵⁰

One thing here calls for remark, and that is that the extent of land which had been granted to Mahr himself *on some former occasion*, is described in this document, as *fifty Binghās*, and not as *four Auls* or [H]ōls, as in the paper of 989 A. H. (1581 A. C.). It follows that at some time between that year and 1035 A. H. (1626 A. C.), a Farmān or Parwānā, must have been issued in which the four *Auls* or [H]ōls were altered to *fifty Binghas*.⁵¹ I have often heard that some other papers relating to the Mahrvaid Jāgir were entrusted, many

47 “*Bā aulād*, lit., with sons, with children; words inserted in a grant, when it was intended that the land should be inherited by the heirs of the grantee. * * * The Judges of the Sudder Dewānny Adālut have also ruled that a *Bā Farzandān* grant is descendable to the *heirs general*. (Reports, IV. p. 222).” Elliot, *Memoirs*, ed. Beames, II, 32. Wilson (*Op. cit.*, s. v. *Bā Farzandān*), says that *Bā Aulād* and “*Bā Farzandān*” have both the same meaning, and that it has been ruled that both apply to heirs and descendants *generally*, although in strictness, they denote only the children of the grantee or his heirs in a *direct* line of descent.”

48 The year of the Hare, the fourth of the Twelve years' cycle in the Turkish Era. Jarrett, *Ain*, II, 20-1.

Alberuni, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, tr. Sachau 83 col. 8, writes *Tafshikhan*, and supposes it to have been the name of the fourth *Month* of the Turks.

49 Abul Fazl says that “in the case of *Parwānās*, the treasurer does not annually demand a new *Sanād* but pays the allowances on the mere receipt, signed and sealed by the Ministers of state.” Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 263.

50 *Iqbāl-nāmah-i-Jehangiri*, in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VI, 419.

51 If the ‘*Aul*’ or *Hōl* was equal, as Mr. Desai says, to about fifteen *Binghās*, four *Auls*, or *Hōls* would be sixty *Binghās* or a little more than the fifty of this *Sanād*.

years ago, to a gentleman to whom the land was mortgaged, and it is possible that this missing Parwānā or Farmān is among them, but I have hitherto failed in all my efforts to obtain a look at it. It is not necessary to pursue the subsequent history of the In'ām in detail. It will be sufficient to say that there are among my papers, Sanads confirming the old grant dated 10th Shawwāl 1053 A. H. (12th December, 1643), 26th Rajab, in the 6th year of Aurungzebe, 1074 A. H. (13th February 1664), and 19th Zi'lhajjah in the 46th year of the same Sovereign, (1113 A. H. 6th May 1702.)

But this is not all. It is evident from another very curious *Sanad* that Mahrvaïd and his ancestors had been given, not only a piece of In'ām land, but were in the receipt of a *Wazifah*—a daily subsistence allowance—also of thirteen dokdās in money from “ancient times,” (*Qadim-al-ayyām*), that is, from times long anterior to the date of this *Sanad* of 991 A. H. (1583 A. C.) This allowance was, it is true, scarcely more than a mere pittance, but then we must remember that our ancestors were in very indigent circumstances at the time, that the standard of comfort was exceedingly low, and that the value of money was three or four times greater than it is to-day. It appears from the details on the other side of this paper, that ten out of these thirteen dokdās were to be paid out of the *Mandvi* Revenues of Navsāri, and the balance from the proceeds of similar duties of the township of Gandevis.

حکم شد کہ معتمد الخواص فتح خان بدانند کہ
مبلغ سیزده عدد دو کهره از قدیم الایام بتفصیل ضمن
در وجر وظیفہ مطیع الاسلام مہر طیب و اولاد مقرر
بودہ باید کہ بدستور سابق مقرر دانستہ مبلغ مذکورہ
را یوماً فیوم جواب گفتہ ماہ بہ ماہ قبض وصول ستانند
کہ از قرار قبض مذکور در حساب محجرا خواهد شد
حسب القرمودہ عمل نمودہ تخلف نکنند تکریراً
فی ۲۵ شہر ذی الحجہ الحرام ۹۹۱

میر مال
م — دل
قلیچ خان

[On the reverse]

حسب الحکم بندگان حضرت
پروانچہ نوشتہ بدہند

اللہ اکبر
بتاریخ بیست ہفتم ۲۷ شہر صفر
بنظر در آمدہ بیض

۱۲ دوکرہ

تفصیل ضمن
منہوی

منہوی

گندوی
۳ دوکرہ

نوباری
۱۰ دوکرہ

بیض



۲۹ قلمی شد
سنہ ۹۹۱ شہر ذی الحجہ

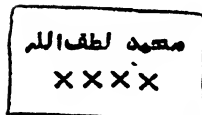


مطلع شد
۲۸ ذی الحجہ

پروانچی
مسلم حسن الطہمت
قطب خان



۹۹۱ اطلعت
ذی الحجہ



وقفہ فی التاريخ
۲۸ ذی الحجہ ۹۹۱

ثبت شد
فی التاريخ ۲۹
شہر ذی الحجہ

Order.

May it be known unto *Mu'atamad-al Khawās*⁵² [The trusty among our special servants] Fath Khan, that the sum of thirteen Dokdās, as per the details herein mentioned, had been from ancient times (*Qadim-al-ayyām*) assigned as a subsistence allowance (*Wazifah*) to the Pārsi Mahr Tabib (Physician) who is a protected subject of Islam (*Muti'-al-Islām*) and his descendants. It behoves him [Fath Khān] to regard it as hereby confirmed in accordance with the former usage, and to pay him [Mahr] the said sum, day after day, and to obtain from him an acknowledgment every month of the receipt thereof. He [Fath Khan] will be then given credit for the sum in the accounts on presenting (*or on the authority of*) that receipt.

Justice, ***
Qulij Khan,
Mir-i-Māl.
(Master of the
Treasury. 3.

Let him act as directed and do nothing contrary to this [order]. Written on the 25th of the month of Zi'lhajjah of the year 991. {30th December 1585 }.

[On the other side].

Let a Parwāncha be written out
[*Qalami numāyand*]⁵³, and
given according to the orders of
His Majesty's Servants.

Allah is the Greatest.
Inspected on the 27th of the
month of Safar. *Finis*.

52 *Mu'atamad*-confidential, faithful, trustworthy, Steingass, s.v. *Khawās*, nobles, grantees, personal servants, usually the favourite or confidential attendant on a person of rank. Wilson, *Op. Cit.* s. v.

Mu'atamad-ul-Mulk, the Trust of the Empire, is still an official title. Steingass.

53 *Mir-i-Māl*. Master of the treasury, Steingass, s. v. Abul Fazl says; " The *Mir-i-Māl*, the Khān sāmān, the Parwānchi, etc. seal on the second fold, but in such a manner that a smaller part of their seals goes to the first part. " Blochmann, *Ain*. I, 363.

54 See the passage quoted from the *Ain* in note 33, ante.

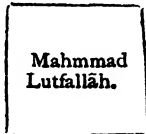
13 Dokdās.

From the Mandvi⁵⁵
of
Gandevi⁵⁶
3 Dokdās.

From the Mandvi
of
Navsāri
10 Dokdās. *Finis.*



Received
notice
Zilhajjah.
991



Was informed on the
28th Zilhajjah, 991.



Indited the 29th of the
month of Zilhajjah
of the year 991.



Was notified, 28
Zilhajjah.

Entered on the 29th
of the month of
Zilhajjah.

- 55 "Māndvi (Guz. *مندوی*), a building into which goods are received from ships in seaports, a store, a warehouse etc., a Custom-house." Wilson, *Op. cit.* s. v. The *Mirdt-i-Ahmadi* gives the figures for the produce of the *Sāir-i-Māndvi* of the towns of Ahmedabad, Pattan and Surat, (Bombay Lithograph, I. pp. 20, 22, 23), and the phrase has been understood by Bayley (History of Gujarat, 7, 11, 12) to mean "Market tolls" or "Market dues."

One of the taxes which Firuz Tughlak professes to have abolished is called in the *Fatūhāt-i-Firuzshāhi*, (Elliot and Dowson, History of India, III, 377), *Māndvi-i-Barg*, which Dowson has left untranslated. Thomas (Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, 5) has rendered it by "Market dues," but it seems to me to be the "duty on the Sales of the 'Pān-Market,'" i. e. the place where Pān (Pers. *Barg*) or Betel leaves were sold. The dues of the *Pān-Market* are mentioned in the *Mirdt-i-Ahmadi* also, under the local name of *Dharichak*, (*Daribah*?) Bombay Lithograph, I. 20. II. 122. Bayley, *Op. cit.*, 8, following Bird, Political and Statistical History of Gujarat.

- 56 The "Ghandevi" of the *Āin-i-Akbari* in the Sarkār of Surat. Jarrett, *Ain*, II, 257, Calcutta Text, I, 498. It is a small town about ten miles distant from Navsāri.

[On the Margin.]

By permission of Him
of Approved Services,
[*Mustahasn-al-Khidmat*],
Qutb Khan.

Three years later 994 A. H., another order was issued charging the Mandvi Revenues of Navsāri with the regular payment day after day to Mahrvaïd of an allowance of five *Murādi Dokdās*⁵⁷ which appear to have been indetical with the ten dokdās of the earlier document of 991 A. H.

—

سلطانی

متصدیان مهمات مندوی قصر نوساری بدانند
که وظیفه یومیه از مهر طیب فارسی قبل از این
مبلغ سیزده دوکرة بموجب پروانچة سابق مقرر
بوده درینولا حسب الحکم الکضرت نامداری
از جملہ مبلغ صدر مذکور مبلغ ۵ پنج دوکرة مرادی
مقرر شد باید که متصدیان مهمات مذکوره مبلغ مرادی
مذکور را از وجوه حاصلات مندوی مذکور روز بروز
مشارالمر رسانند که در دعاگوی دوام دولت مشغول
باشد فی التاریخ ۲۷ شهر شوال سنه ۹۹۴

57 According to Edward Thomas, the *Murādi Dām* was of exactly double the value of the ordinary *Dam*, of which last forty went to the Rupee. It was, "in effect, the old Sikandari Tankāh of twenty to the silver Rupee." Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire, p. 7. See also Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, 441-445. Thomas's theory has been challenged by Lane-Poole, (Hunter, Indian Empire, 3d ed. 355, and Aurungzebe, in Rulers of India Series, p. 128), but it is useful, all the same, for explaining the above passage. If a *Murādi Dam* was equal to two ordinary *Dāms*, a *Murādi Dokdā* might well have been equal to a double *Dokdā*, and the five *Murādi Dokdās* of this paper would be identical with the ten ordinary *Dokdās*, which were made chargeable on the same source of Revenue (the Navsāri *Mandvi*) by the earlier Sanad of 991 A.H.

[On the reverse]



مطلعت	رجوع شد	اطلعت	
في التاريخ ٣ شهر	في التاريخ	في شهري تعد	٢٨ شهر ربيع الاول
ربيع الثاني سنة ٩٩٥	٢٨ شهر ربيع الاول	سنة ٩٩٤	سنة ٩٩٥ بد فتر رسید
	سنة ٩٩٥		يضى

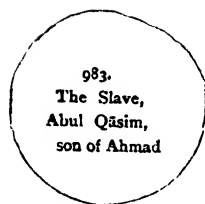
Hü.

Let it be known to the Officials (*Mutasaddis*) of the department (lit. affairs, business) of the Custom-house (*Mandvi*) of the township of Navsāri that the daily subsistence allowance of the Pārsi Mahr Tabib (Physician) was, before this, fixed at thirteen dokdās by former Par-wānchas. It has now been settled by the Order (*Hasb-ul-Hukm*)⁵⁸ of the Deputy of His Majesty, that out of the said sum, five *Murādi dokdās* [should be paid to him]. The Officials (*Mutasaddis*) of the said department should, therefore, send the said number of *Murādi* [dokdās] day after day to the abovementioned person out of the proceeds of the customs (*Mandvi*) revenues, that he may devote himself to praying for the permanence of His Majesty's dominion.

[Written] on the 27th of the month of Shawwāl of the year 994 ...
[A. H. 1st October 1586].

58 *Hasab-ul-Hukm*. "A patent or order under the seal of the Vizier, with these initial words, signifying 'according to command'. An official confirmation under the seal of the Vizier, enforcing obedience to the Emperor's Firman." F. Gladwin, *A Compendious System of Bengal Revenue Accounts*, ed. 1796, p. 113.

[On the other side].



Was notified
on the 3rd of the
month of Rabi' us
Sāni, 995.

Submitted
on the 28th of the
month of Rabi'ul
Awwal of the year
995.

Received notice
on the 27th Ziq'ada
of the year 994.

[On the left margin of the same.]

Entered in the Register on the 28th of the month of Rabi'al-
awwal of the year 995.

*Finis.*⁵⁹

I must now sum up the results of this long examination of documents. In the first place then, it is plain that Mahrvid was born about 1520 A. C. and that he was alive in 1586 A. C. (994 A. H.) In the second, it is certain that he belonged to a family in which the practice of medicine was hereditary, that he was granted by Akbar a piece of rent-free land and a daily subsistence allowance, both of which were continued to his decendants by Jehangir. In the third place, it is highly probable that both these marks of favour had been shown to Mahr's father as well as his grandfather.

59 *Baiz*, A mark fixed to public writings by the magistrate or any public officer. Steingass, s. v.

It appears to have been placed at the end to indicate that the last word had been written, and that the rest of the paper was clean or blank (*Baiz*), so that anything added afterwards would be a manifest interpolation. The Seal is that, probably, of Khwājah Abul-Qāsim, who was appointed Diwān of Gujarat in 991 A. H. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* in Elliot and Dowson, V. 428.

But there is nothing so far to show why these favours, such as they were, were bestowed upon them. I may be permitted, therefore, to quote a somewhat later document which throws some light upon the point. This paper is unfortunately not dated explicitly, but the dates on three of the seals of its numerous signatories are 1072 A. H., 1078 A. H. and 1082 A. H., and it may be safely presumed to be not much later than the year last mentioned. (1671 A. C.).

سوال میکند و استشهاد می نماید فرزندان قیام طیب
از جماعتی که واقف برانی معنی که مشارالیه معالج
فقرا و غرباء قصبة نوساری می نماید دو مدار اوقات
او بر موازی پنجاه بیکه زمین معر اشجار از قصیر
مذکور مقرر است هرکرا بر معالج نمودن طیب مذکور
بفقرا و مساکین اطلاع بده باشد حسین الله شهادت
خود را در ذیل این ثبت نمایند که عندالله ماجور
و عندالناس مشکور خواهد بود

بیان واقع است



مضمون المسطور بیان
واقع است

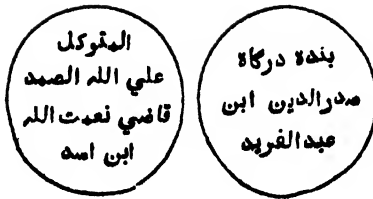


شهد شد فتح خان ولد
خضرخان



من الشاهدین
سید علی ابن سید مرتضی
الجه درین صتیفه مسطور گشته
بیان واقع است حرره سید ماکم
شهد بمافیه
گواه شد
شهد بمافیه
صالح ماکم ولد
شیخ ماکم ولد
پیر ماکم ولد
شیخ عبدالوهاب حسین
شهد بمافیه

برین مضمون
فقیر جمالدین
الجه در متن مسطور است برین مضمون
بیان واقع است
شیخ ماکم
واقف است
شهد بمافیه



بمضمون مسطور مثن
فقير عالم الدين
واقف است

مضمون المسطور
بيان واقع است



آنها در مثن مسطور است
بيان واقع است



شهد بما فيه
فقير نصر الدين ابن
شيخ نور الله صديقي
ها و عوده (۹) سهروردي

شهد بما فيه
مهيه حافظ

The children of Qiām Tabib (Physician) beg and request the evidence of all those, who have any knowledge of the matter, to state whether the person aforesaid cures the ailments of the needy poor and distressed of the township of Navsāri, and whether his means of subsistence depend on fifty Binghās' extent of land, with trees thereon, in the said township. If any one

Of the fact written in the text
Faqr 'Ilmuddin is cognizant.

The thing written is plain fact.

That which is written in the text
is plain fact.

The in-
scription on the
Seal ring of the heart
of Karim Mahammad
1082,

Abdul
Ghani
Al-Hussaini
1072.

In witness whereof, Mahammad
Hāfiz,

In witness whereof, Faqr Nas-
ruddin the son of Shekh Nurallāh
Siddiqi * * * Saharawardi.

The gist of it seems to be that Mahr's ancestors as well as his descendants maintained, at their own cost, a sort of charitable dispensary for their poorer fellow-citizens. These good old Zoroastrians would appear, for generations, to have been spending their substance and giving freely of their skill for the relief of suffering, and their services were rewarded, according to the custom of the time, with Grants of rent-free land. It is of course impossible to say anything as to the degree of proficiency they were able to attain in their art. It is not unlikely that Mahr himself was the best and most famous of them all. His name, it is true, does not occur in the list of twenty-nine physicians of renown, (Hindus as well as Musulmans)⁶¹, which Abul Fazl gives in the *Ain-i-Akbari*, but he may, for all that, have gone like Dastur Kaikobād and Māneckji Mahrnushji of the family of Dastur Meherji Rānā, to Dehli or Agra,⁶² on some business connected with his In'am. As for the stories of his marvellous cures, it is not at all necessary to take them very seriously at this time of day, at least until anything like credible evidence is produced in support of them.

61 Blochmann, *Ain*, I, 542-4. The Hindus mentioned are only four in number. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Lucknow Text, 395-6) gives the names of several others.

62 Pārsi Prakāsh, 11 and 25.

SOME ANCIENT PARSI DOCUMENTS.

A Paper read before the Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Research on the 14th of November 1914.

I promised when we last met in this Hall to take the earliest opportunity of exhibiting publicly the interesting Gujarāti documents which were included in the bundle of papers I found at Navsāri in 1896. I hasten to fulfil that pledge to-night, but permit me, before I discuss them in detail, to declare, once for all, that these writings do not relate to any event of historical or national importance, and do not inform us of any great or brilliant achievements of our ancestors. They are really nothing but the family papers of some Zoroastrians of the middle class who lived in the 16th and 17th Centuries. It is fairly well known that our people were in a state of obscurity and indigence in those times, but I venture to think, that these old records enable us to realise much more clearly than anything that has been hitherto published, the sort of life that they led, the poor and mean dwellings they were content to inhabit, and the condition of indebtedness to which many, even of those who were not absolutely impecunious, were at times reduced on account of their inability to pay the taxes imposed upon them or the Revenue assessment of the lands on the cultivation of which most of them depended for their subsistence. Indeed, most of these documents tell us, what may appear almost incredible in these days, that the Parsis of those times lived, for the most part, only by agriculture and retail trade. Several of these writings, again, relate to the regulations made by the corporate priest-hoods or Anjumans in reference to religious ceremonies, and furnish authentic information as to the fees and perquisites to which their order was entitled, and the tenacity and pugnaciousness with which the members of every denomination maintained their peculiar rights and privileges even in the smallest matters.

But these are not the only sides from which these records appeal to us. They are, as I have remarked on a former occasion, *the oldest original papers in existence relating to our ancestors*, and to them are appended the autographs of scores of Zoroastrian worthies of the olden time, whose names are in every one's mouth today. Besides the personal interest which must attach to these signatures, there is the fact that many of these names occur in the Persian Revāyets of the period. We are consequently enabled not only to secure independent evidence as to the historical value and reliability of those missives, but to derive, considerable assistance from them in determining the difficult question as to the *real* dates of these Revāyets, which has been raised by E. W. West and some other scholars. That question, which no one has hitherto attempted to solve, and which I hope to discuss more fully on a future occasion, is whether these dates are in the Common Era commencing from the day of Yazdajard's accession, or the obsolete one, sometimes known as the *Pārsi*, of which the initial year was that of Yazdajard's death, or the 21st after that of his accession.¹

Such is the interest which these writings possess for us—for those, I mean, who belong to our small community. But they must arrest the attention even of many who are not Parsis, of all those of our Hindu brethren who have made a serious study of old Gujarāṭi, of its grammar, its spelling and its palæography. They contain many archaic words and expressions which are very 'difficult to trace or explain, and which must, for that reason, provide matter for reflection and research to all students of Gujarāṭi philology.

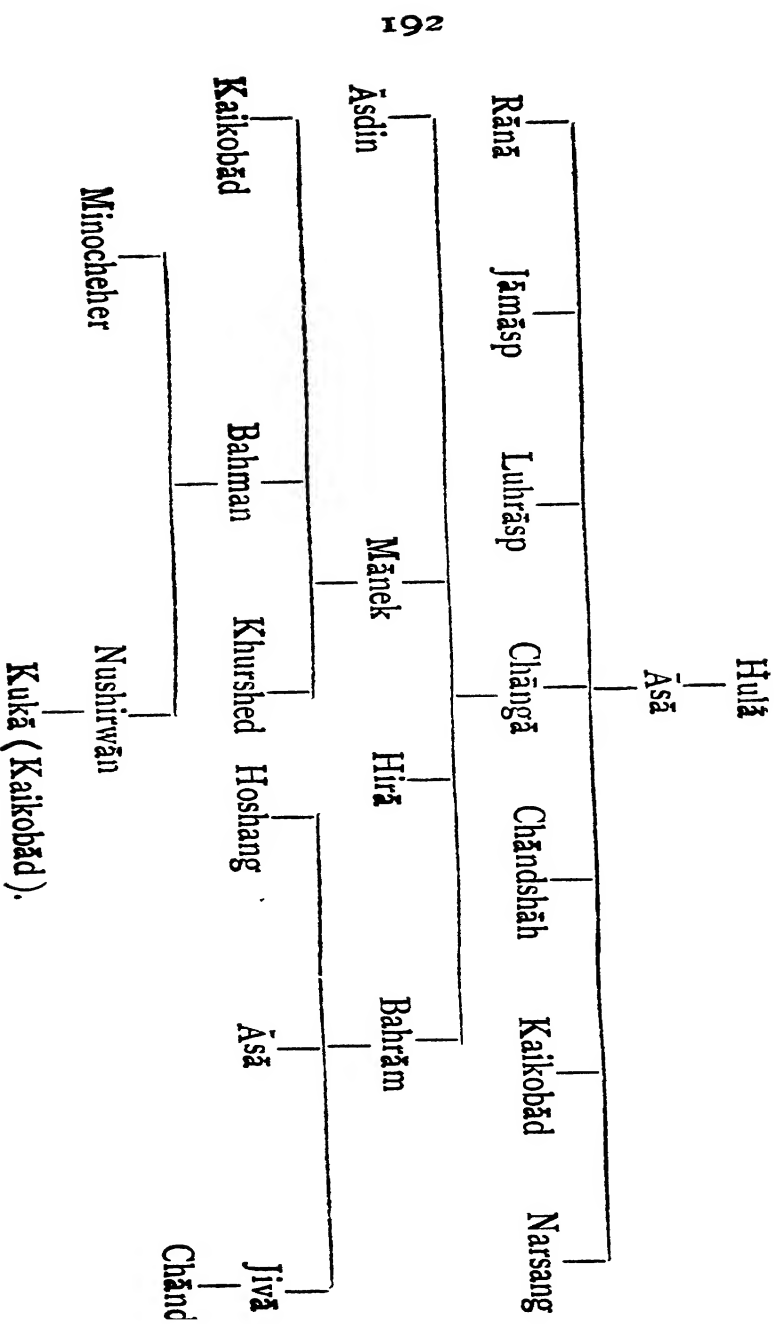
These papers may be roughly divided into three classes. I. Those which relate to the members of the family of Dastur Meherji Rāṇā. II. Those pertaining to religious matters or disputes and, III.

1. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie. II. 120.

Tehmuras. Proceedings of the Khol Karnāri Mandali (1901), pp. 66-69.

Miscellaneous documents connected with other Pārsi families of the period.

The first of them is a deed by which a house belonging to Sheth Dhayyān Rānā was mortgaged to Ervad Rānā Jaisang—the father of Meherji Rānā—in Vikram Samvat 1588 (1532 A. C.), for thirty Tankās—each Tankā of the value of 60 Dokdās. This Sheth Dhayyān was the nephew—brother's son—of the famous Chāngā Asā, and as members of that old family are frequently mentioned in these documents, I have prepared a pedigree table for the better understanding of these records, from an old *Nāmagrahan* appended to Rustamji Jāmāspji Dastur's *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvli*. (p. 222).



સંવત ૧૫૮૮ વર્ષે માહ આદર રોજ બહાન અઘેહ શ્રી નામમંડલ કર્ણુ પાતસાહ શ્રી બાહદર વજ્યરાજ્યે ઉ (વ?) શેખ સા. જમાલ [વ્યા] પારી પંચકુલ પ્રતિપાતો. અ[રાણાં જેસંગ જોગ્ય સો ધૈયાં રાણાં હસ્તાક્ષરાણુ દતાનિ જત જરણુ ટંકા ૩૦] અંકે ટંકા ત્રીસ ટંકા એક પ્રત દોકડા ૬૦ સાઠ લેખિ રોક સો ધૈ [એ] લીધા એહ પ્રામમા (?) સો ધૈએ ધિર ધૈયાં ખુરસેદ વજી આહન આપિજિ ને ભી વાર સો ધૈહ ગુરથ આપી છોડવી લીએ. જ કાહી ધિર સમારતાં લાગિતી સો ધૈક મજરા દીએ અસલ ખત વધે પરપાલ નાય. ભાંડાનુ દાવે નહિ કરિ.

અત્ર મતનિ
લા ધૈયાં રાણાં.

અત્ર સામે
૧ વાજ પાહલણુ સામે,
૧ આસા બહિરાંમશક્ષિ,²

2. અઘેહ. Sans. **अद्य+ईदृ**—today, here.

શ્રી નામમંડલ કર્ણુ પાતસાહ શ્રી બાહદર વિજયરાજ્યે. A formula bearing some resemblance to this occurs in several Gujarāt inscriptions of the Chālukya period, *c. 8.* in an epigraphic record of Kumārpāl dated V. S. 1213, another of the time of Bhimdeva II. V. S. 1264 (Indian Antiquary, XI. 338, l. 5), a third of the time of Bhimdeva II. V. S. 1265, (Indian Antiquary, XI. 221, l. 21), a fourth of Ajaypāl of V. S. 1229, (Journal, Bengal Asiatic Society. XXXI. 125), a fifth of Vishaldeva Vaghela, 1317 V. S. (Indian Antiquary, VI. 210 ll. 6-7), and also in the famous Verāwāl record in the temple of Harsata Mātā of 1320 V. S. (Ind. Ant. XI. 242, l. 7.) Dr. Hultsch who has edited the last record takes *Karna* as a verb in the sense of 'making (Shri,)' at the beginning of documents (Ib. 244, note 12). *Shri Karna*, 'making Shri,' then obtains the meaning of 'Secretariat.' Ind. Ant. XL 228, note 26. *Karna* may perhaps be the Arab. *Qarn*—a decade, a generation, an age. (Steingass). વ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રતિપાતો. This is another stereotyped expression, which has been interpreted by Hultsch as "with the consent of the Panchakulas." (Ib. 244). Buhler understands by *Panchakula*, 'as clever as five families' and adds that it is preserved in the modern name Pancholi, which is borne by many distinguished Kāyastha families. (Ibid, 244, note 13). Elsewhere, (Ind. Ant. XII. 195), Buhler takes it as equivalent to 'scribe.'

હસ્તાક્ષરાણુ દતાનિ. This phrase is very common in old legal papers, and occurs in different forms of which the corruptness varies in direct proportion to the ignorance of the writer, *c.g.* હસ્તાખરણુ દતાના, હસ્તાન ખરાન દતાન, etc. It is the Sanscrit

हस्ताक्षरेणदत्तम्. I have given it in my handwriting."

જરણુ, જણુ, old.

અસલખત વધ પ્રપાલનાય. This phrase also is common to many of our papers. It is probably the Sanscrit phrase, **अस्य लिखितं वधेः प्रपालनाय**, *lit.* What is written is for the observance of the process (विधि) [above described].

In the [Vikram] Samvat year, 1588, *Rez* (day) Bahman, *Māh*, (Month) Ādar, here in Nāgmandal³ (Navsāri), when the Pātshāh Shri Bahādur⁴ was reigning triumphantly, when [all affairs were] managed by Sheikh Sā[heb ?] Jamāl, and with the cognisance (or consent) of a body of five persons of good family (or scribes).

To A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang, Seth Dhayyān Rānā⁵ has given this in his own handwriting. Whereas, Seth Dhayyān has borrowed from A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang 30, Thirty Tankās of the old [stamp] in cash, each such Tankā being of [the value of] Sixty Dokdās, he, Seth Dhayyān has, in lieu thereof, given by way of pledge (or mortgage) the house of Dhayyān Khursed, which is to be released whenever Seth Dhayyān pays down the amount (*lit.* money). Seth Dhayyān will make good [to Adhyāru Rānā Jaisang] whatever expenses are incurred for repairs in the house. This agreement (*lit.* writing) to be observed. No claim is to be made for rent.

Here the Signature.

Written by me (*Lakhtam*),

Dhayyān Rānā⁵.

Here, the Witnesses.

I Wācchā Pāhlan, witness.⁶

I Asā Bahirām, witness.⁷

- 3 Nāgmandal is one of the old names of Navsāri and occurs frequently in the colophons of manuscripts written in that town. West. S. B. E. (Pahlavi Texts), XXIV. pp. xxi and xxxii. Shahriūrji, Neriosengh's Sanscrit Writings. Pt. III. 48—9. Nāgsārikā is an older form which occurs in a Rāshtrakūta Copperplate dated Shaka 743, A. C. 821. Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujarāt, Vol. I. Pt. i. 125.
- 4 Bahādur Shāh of Gujarāt, who reigned from 26 Ramazān 932 A.H. to 3 Ramazān 943 A. H., i.e. 6 July 1526 to 14 February 1537. Bayley, History of Gujarāt. 327-8, 397.
- 5 Dhayyān Rānā was one of the persons to whom the Revāyet-i-Jāsā was addressed in 885 A. Y. (1516 A. C.), and one of the witnesses to the document about sending Nāgoj Dhayyān to Damaun, dated 1599 V. S. (1543 A. C.), which is given in the *Pārsi Prākāsh*. 8. He was also one of the signatories of the deed by which the Behdins of Navsāri bestowed upon Rānā Jaisang ten Binghās of land in In'ām in 1576 V. S. (1520 A. C.). Mody, The Parsees at the Court of Akbār, 159.
- 6 Wācchā Pāhlan was one of the three sons of the famous Kākā Pāhlan, i. e. Pāhlan. Annān, after whom one of the five Bhagarsāth Pols is named. *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvli*, 4. He was the brother of Bahrām Pāhlan, family priest of Mānek Chāngā, who is mentioned in the *Virāḍ-i-Kāusi*. The names of Bahrām and his brother Chāndā occur in the Revāyets of 896 A. Y. and 904 A. Y. *Pārsi Prākāsh*, 7-8.
- 7 This is the Asā Bahrām bin Chāngā of the Revāyet-i-Jāsā of 885 A. Y. (1516 A. C.) My Revāyet M. S. folio 97 a. His name occurs also in the later Revāyets of Aspandīār Sobrāb (ibid, 135 a), and of 896 A. Y. and 904 A. Y. (1527 A. C. and 1535 A. C.), *Pārsi Prākāsh*, pp. 7-8. He was one of the signatories of the Gujarāti document, dated 1576 V. S (1520 A. C.), Mody, Parsees at the Court of Akbar, 158—161, and one of the witnesses to a Persian Saledeed dated 941 A. H. (1535 A. C.) which is in my possession.

Seven years afterwards, we find that this very house was sold outright for Sixty-eight Tankās *Pratābhāhrā* by the Sheth, whose pecuniary affairs appear to have gone from bad to worse in the interval. He had not only been unable to pay off the old debt of 30 Tankās, but was now obliged to ask for and obtain another sum of 38 Tankās from the same creditor, for acquitting some claim which the Diwān or Chief Financial Officer of the District had upon him. Conscious of the very remote possibility, in his embarrassed circumstances, of liquidating the old obligation as well as the new, he appears to have determined to throw off the burden of debt, by parting with the house altogether for 68 Tankās *Pratābhāhrā*, each of the value of 60 Dokdās.

But what was this Tankā *Pratābhāhrā* and how much was it worth, and what is the meaning of *Pratābhāhrā* itself?

There can be little doubt that the word is a corruption of *Pratāp-Varāha*—the name of a mediæval Hindu coin which was further corrupted by the Portuguese into "*Pardao d'ouro*." The *Varāha* was a gold coin of the Kings of Vijayanagar, so called from the Boar (*Varāha*) of Vishnu figured on some issues. It weighed about 58 grs. and was, according to Sir Walter Elliot, also called, '*Padma—Tanka*,' and '*Varāha-Tanka*.'⁸ Dr. Hultzsch tells us that the *Partāb* was half the *Varāha*, as we learn from a contemporary account of the coinage of the Kings of Vijayanagar in the work of 'Abd-ur-Razzāq the ambassador of Sultān Shāhrukh of Samarqand, who stayed at that capital "from the close of Zul-Hajjā 846 A. H.=end of April, 1443 A. C., to 12th of Sh'abān 847 A.H.=5th December, 1443 A. C." The name *Partāb* which 'Abdur Razzāq attributes to the half pagodā or *Varāha*, is probably, connected," in his opinion, "with the surname *Pratāpa*, which occurs before the names of Vijayanagar kings both on coins and in inscriptions."⁹ Ferishta also tells us that the gold coins struck by the Rāis of Bijānagar and Tiling were called *Hūn* (*i. e.* Pagoda or *Varāha*) and

⁸ Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dehli*, 224 note.

⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, XX. 301.

Partāb. The Partāb was afterwards corrupted by the Portuguese into Pardão. "Nunez in his Tables (1554 A. C.) repeatedly mentions Pardãos, which represented 5 Silver Tangas or 300 Reis. * * * Later in the century, we learn from Balbi (1580), Barrett (1584), and Linschoten (1583-89) that the principal currency of Goa consisted of a silver coin called Xerafin and Pardao-Xerafin, which was worth 5 tangas, each of 60 reis."¹⁰ It would appear as if our Tanka Pratābāhrā, which is expressly said to have been equivalent to 60 Dokdās, was identical with the Tanga of *Nunez*, which was also equal to 60 Reis. The coincidence, at least, is striking, and it is probable that the Reis of Nunez was identical with the Dokdā of Gujarāt which was for long equivalent to the hundredth part of a Rupee.¹¹

The question is a very difficult one, but the facts above mentioned would seem to indicate that this Tankā Pratābāhrā was some coin equivalent to about $\frac{1}{100} = \frac{1}{100}$ of a Rupee, which was current in the dominions of the Sultāns of Gujarāt in which Navsārī was, *at that time*, included. We know that a silver coin was issued by many of them, Ahmad I, Mahmūd I (Begdā), Ahmad III, and Muzaffar III, weighing about 175 grs.—*i. e.*, about as much as the coin which came to be afterwards called "Rupyyā" in the days of Shīr Shāh, Salīm Shāh and Akbar.¹² But if the Rupee of about 175 grs. of silver, was worth 100 Dokdās, this coin which is expressly stated to have been equivalent to only 60 of them, ought to have contained only $\frac{175}{100} \times \frac{60}{100} = 105$ grs. of that metal. Now some of the *commonest silver issues* of this dynasty, are coins of which the weights range from 101 grs to 111 grs.,¹³ and I have myself several specimens of them in my collection.

¹⁰ Yule and Burnell, Hobson-Jobson-ed. Crooke, 675, 678.

¹¹ Bayley, History of Gujarāt, 6, 7, 11. Bombay Gazetteer, History of Gujarat, Vol I. Part I, 224, note. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms, s. v. Dokdā.

¹² G. P. Taylor, Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1904, pp. 278 ff; H. Nelson Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Vol. II. pp. 228-9 236, 238; Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli, 352.

¹³ Taylor, *Op. cit.* 333; Wright, *Op. cit.* 232-3.

We may, therefore, take it that these Tankās Prātābhārā were identical with the silver coins which are called *Muzaffaris*, by the author of the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, after Muzaffar II, the son of Mahmūd Begadā,¹⁴ but which seem to have been known among the common people by the old Hindu name of *Tankā Prātābhārā*, probably from some association with the *Pratāpa-Varāha* and *Tankā—Varāha* of older times.

But if this Tankā was equal to only about $\frac{1}{4}$ of a Rupee, the house which was purchased by Rānā Jaisang for Sixty-eight Tankās must have been worth about Forty Rupees only. Making all allowances for the difference in the value of money, and supposing the purchasing power of silver in 1539 A. C. to have been four or even five times as great as it is now, this sum would be equivalent, in our own day, to about 200 Rupees only, and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the dwelling bought by Rānā Jaisang must have been little better than a wattle-and-daub hut of the the humblest kind. But there is nothing to be surprised at in this, for such was the general character of the houses of those days, even in larger and more prosperous cities than Navsāri. Speaking of Surat in the 17th Century, Tavernier says: "The walls of the city are of earth, and the houses of private persons are merely barns, being built of nothing but reeds, covered with cowdung mixed with clay, to fill the interstices, and to prevent those outside from seeing, between the reeds, that which is done inside. In the whole of Surat, there are only nine or ten well-built houses, and the *Shūh-bandar* or chief of the merchants, has two or three of them." Indeed, the towns and villages were in those times built mostly of mud, and Sir Thomas Roe tells us that even the wealthy and populous town of Burhānpūr was, except the houses of the Viceroy, the Commander-in-chief and a few others, entirely made up of mud cottages. And Terry informs us that "the villages stand very thick; but the houses are generally very poor and base. All these country dwellings are set close together; none stand singly and alone. Some of the houses have earth walls

mixed with straw, set up just after the rains, and having a long season to dry, stand firm; they are built low, and many of them flat. Most of the cottages are miserably poor, little and base, *built with very little charge*, set up with sticks rather than timber, so that if they chance to fire, they may for very little be reedified.”¹⁵

[૭૪] ॥ સંવત ૧૫૯૫ વર્ષે રોજ ખુર[શેદ માહ] મહિર અદેહ શ્રી નાગ-મંડલ કર્ણુ [પાત] સાહા શ્રી સુલતાન મહિમુદસા વ્યજ્ય ર[ાજે] અમલ મલિક શ્રી સાખમલ(?) મલિક વ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રતિપતૈ ૦૥ આ રાણા જેસંગ પારશ્વાત સે. ધૈયાં રાણાં હસ્તાક્ષરાણિ દતાનિ જત જરણુ ટંકા ૬૮) અંકે આડસઠ પુરા પ્રત આહારા આ રાણાં જેસંગ જોગ્ય સો ધૈય રાણિ રોક લીધા એહ ગુર્ય વડિ સેઠ ધેય રાણિ ધિર બા. ધૈયાં ખુરસેદ આદરવની છીડીની ભુમી સમેત ચંદ્ર કાલી વેચા તે આપું દલવાડા સર્વ અસખાખ ધિરના સમેત વેચાતું આપું સહી અસલ ખત

વધે પ્રપાલનાઈ.

અત્ર મતું

ધૈયાં રાણાં મતું

એ ગુરથની વગતનો

મેલ

૩૦) કદીમ ગરો પર હતા

તે વ્યાલા.

૩૮) બાકી ભરેયા દીવાન

ની જલમોહર (?)

અત્ર શાખ

૧ ખુરસેદ અ | ચાંદા સાખિ

૧ જમશેદ માંણુક સાખ

૧ મીરાજ જમાલ

* * * * * સાખ

૧ મહિરાંમ બહિરાંમ સાખ

૧ પા. મામા આસા સાખ

૧ રાણાં જમાસ શાક્ષ

૧ વુ. બાપો સુત રાવવ સાખિ

૧ વુ. કાના સાહીઆ ખુરસેદ સાખ

૧ બહાન માણુક સાખ.¹⁶

In the [Vikram] Samvat year 1595, Roz (day) Khur[shed, Māh (month)] Mihir, here in Nāgmandal (Navsāri), when the Pādshāh

15. Tavernier, Travels in India. ed. Ball. I, 7 ; Roe in Kerr's Voyages, IX. 256-7 ; Terry, A Voyage to East India, 179-80.

16. પારશ્વાત elsewhere written, પારસવાત,—From Sans. **પાશ્વ**, side. **પ્રતાપબરાહ**—i. e. **પ્રતાપબરાહ**; **છીડી**, a narrow path, an alley.

Shri Sultān Mahimūd Shāh¹⁷ was conducting the government triumphantly and the executive authority (*A'mal*) was in [the hands of] Shri Sābmal(?) Malik¹⁸ and with the cognisance (*or* consent) of a body of five persons of good family (*or* scribes). To 'A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang Seth Dhayyān Rānā has given this in his own handwriting. Whereas, Seth Dhayyān Rānā had borrowed from A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang, 68 Sixty-eight Tankās Pratābāhrā of the Old [mintage] in cash, he, Seth Dhayyān Rānā has now, in lieu of that amount (*lit.* money) sold [to Rānā Jaisang] in perpetuity (*lit.* for as long as the Moon endures), the house of B[ehdin] Dhayyān Khursed Ādrav, together with the land in the alley. That house he has sold together with its enclosure(?) and all the furniture therein.

This agreement (*lit.* writing) is to be observed.

Here the Signature.

Here the Witnesses.

Dhayyān Rānā.

Detailed account of the total
[Sum of money],

1 Khursed A [dhyāru].
Chāndā, witness.¹⁹

1 Jamsed Mānak, witness.

30 Borrowed on the Old mortgage,
which are to be returned.

1 Mirāji Jamāl * * *, witness.

38 Paid in the rest to the *Diwān*
(Head Revenue Officer.)

Mahirām Bahirām, witness.

* * ?

1 Pā [tel ?] Māmā Asā,

17. This was Mahmūd, the son of Latif, the son of Muzaḥfir the Second, who is generally called Mahmūd III and reigned from 943 A. H. (1537 A. C.) to 961 A. H. (1553 A. C.). Bayley, *Op. Cit.* 406, 453.
18. *Sābmal-malik* is probably Sā'adul-Mulk, a title borne by several persons at different times during the period covered by the Gujarāt Sultanate. Bayley, *Op. cit.* 94, 204-5. *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*, Fāzal Lutfallah's Translation, 12, 152. A Sa'ād ul-Mulk was among the first persons to do homage to Bahādur Shāh at Nahrwallāh (Anhilwād Pattan) in 1526 A. C. (*Mirāt*, 152), and there is nothing improbable in supposing him to have been high in office under his successor Mahmūd III, at the date of this document, 1539 A. C.
19. We find Khurshed Chāndā's name in the saledeed of 923 A. H. 1517 (*Ant.* p. 159) and in the document of V. S. 1599 (1543 A. C.). *Pārsi Prakāśh.* p. 8.

A. C.), in which there is an express condition made as to the necessity of doing all things with their approval. We thus get an *approximate date* for the *birth* of Meherji Rānā : in other words, supposing him to have been only twenty years old in 1534 A. C., he must have been born about 1514 A. C.

લિ. આ નાગુજ રસ્તમ આ રાંણાં જેસંગ જે [ગજ] ત એકેક માંહિ સીમ આંગણાં નીનુ જગડુ કરતા હતા તે જગડુ માંહોમાંહો તશીમ થાઈ નસ્તારિઉ. જ ખિરતું ખૂટુ આગ પહિલુ સુઢિઉ છિ તે અઘાટ સાખત અરધો અરધ રખિઉ વરસાતનાં પાંણી નીખ અગીઆરીનાનીખુટા ઉપરવાડિ આ રાંણાં જેસંગની પાસે થાહી જાઈ ને અને ખૂટા ૨) અને ઉપરવાડિ થાઈ જાએ ને ખૂટા અને ૨) ઉપરવાડિ ભીત ભરિએ જી આ રાંણાં જેસંગ ભીત ભરિ તે વાર અઘાટ અ. નાગુજ રસ્તમનિ પાસે રાખી ભરિ તા આ નાગુજ ભીત ભરિ તુ આ રાંણાં જેસંગનિ પાસે રાખી ભીત ભરિ બધુટી (?) અઘટ સાથે બાંધી ભીત બધુટી (?) ઉપર ભીત ભારિ એ જગડુ નસ્તારિઉ આ સાએર ખુરસેદ સંજાણાં તાં આ મહીઆર જેસંગ ધંધ્યાં ઉભા રહી. આ માંજુક નાગુજ તાં આ જીવા નાગુજ તાં આ હોસંગ રાંણાં તાં આ મહીઆર વાજા જેસંગ ખસનદ થાહી અઘાટ સુઢી યા એ બનિ માંહિ કોએ દાવે નહી કરિ જે દાવો કરિ તેનું દાવે રદ સહી

રોજ આવાં માહા બહાન સંવત ૧૫૯૦ વર્ષે અસલખત વધે પ્રપાલનાય	
લા આ નાગુજ રસ્તમ	૧ આ સાએર ખુરસેદ સહી
લા આ રાંણાં જેસંગ	૧ અં મહીઆર જેસંગ સાખ
પાંણીની નીખ અં રાંણાં જેસંગ	૧ અં મહીઆર આશા સાક્ષ
ની પાસે ખૂટા અને અઘાટ ઉપરવાડિ	૧ અં હમજીઆર જેસંગ સાખ. ²¹

21. તશીમ Pers. *Tafhim*, from *Fahm*, understanding; compromised, settled. નસ્તારિઉ, carried through, completed, settled, arranged; નિસ્તરડુ, નિસ, through, completely from and તરડુ. Belsāre. The *Narmakosh* quotes from Akho Bhagat the lines,

અખા ગહન એ ચાહયું જયે,
રામ જાણે નિસ્તારો થાય.

and says નિસ્તરડુ means પાર પડ્યું, તરડું.

ખિર, ખેર (Sans. खादिर) The Acacia Catechu, of which the timber is highly appreciated for the hardness and durability it possesses. G. Watt, The Commercial Products of India, p. 9.

થાઇ પાંણી અગીઆરીના મુલવન્ત
 ના છ પાંણી આવે તી મુલતમાંનું
 પાંણી આ રાંણું જેસંગને પાસે થાઇ
 ખુટા ઉપરવાડે થાઇ જાએ નીખ આં
 રાણુ જેસંગ ખુટા ઉપરવડે કાઢે પાણી
 તાંહાં થાઇ જાએ આ રાણાની પિખ.

Written by me, A[dhyāru] Nāgoj Rustam²² to A[dhyaru] Rānā Jaisang. Whereas, we were at variance among ourselves about the boundaries of the court-yards of our houses, we have come now to an understanding, and that dispute has been settled (*lit.* dissolved, melted). A peg of *Khair* (Acacia Catechu) wood had been fixed before the fire took place, and that boundary mark is to be kept undisturbed (*lit.* firm) exactly in the middle. The channel for carrying off the rain-water is to go right over the rain-water-channel side of of the Agiāry, and past [the house of] A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang and the [partition] wall is to be built in the line of the two pegs. If A[dhyāru] Rānā builds the wall, the boundary-mark (*or* stone) should be fixed when A[dhyāru] Nāgoj Rustam is present. Thus it is settled that both boundary marks (*or* stones) are to be fixed with each other's consent. The dispute was thus settled when A[dhyāru] Sāyer Khursed Sanjānā,²³ and A[dhyāru] Mahiyār Jaisang Dhayyān, were

અથાટે. A stone on which is inscribed the description of land granted, a free gift. A boundary stone, a boundary mark.

ઉપરવાડે ઇ. ર. ઉપરવાડે, over the hedge. Narmadāshankār says, ઉપરવાડી-ડે, વચમાં વાડ વાણી ભીત દોષ ને બે બાજુએ ઉભા રહી એક બીજને બોલાવવું, કંઈ આપવું, લેવું, તે ઉપરવાડી કહેવાય છે. “તેને ઉપરવાડી બોલાવે, લે;”

‘ઉપરવાડીથી સમર કરે છે સાદબે.’

Narmakosh s. v. મુલવન્ત, મુલતમાં I cannot say what this means. Is it an old word for ગેરી, drain?

22. The names of Dasturs Nāgoj Rustam, Asā Rustam and Bahrām Rustam occur in Jāsā's Revāyet of 885 A. Y. 1516 A. C. My Revāyet MS. folio 97 a. They are also found in the Revāyet of Aspandīār Sohrāb, which is not explicitly dated, but which West conjectures to have been received in India about 1520 A. C. Ibid, 134 b. Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie II. 125.
23. This Sanjānā priest's name occurs in the Revāyet-i-Kāus Kāmdin of 922 A. Y. (1553 A. C.). My Revāyet MS folio 212 b. He has besides witnessed a Saledēd of 1614 V. S. (1558 A. C.), which will be found further on.

standing by (*i. e.* present). The boundary-mark should be fixed in such a way that A[dhyāru] Mānek Nāgoj and A[dhyāru] Jivā Nāgoj and A[dhyāru] Hoshang Rānā and A[dhyāru] Māhiār Wāchhā Jaisang are satisfied. None of the parties are hereafter to make any claim. If any one does so, his claim shall be set aside. Roj (day) Avān, Māh (month) Bahman, [Vikram] Samvat year 1590. This agreement (*lit.* writing) is to be observed.

Written by me, A[dhyāru]
Nāgoj Rūstam.²⁴

1 A[dhyāru] Sāyer Khursed,
witness,

Written by me, A[dhyāru]
Rānā Jaisang.

1 A[dhyāru] Māhiār Jaisang,²⁴
witness.

1 A[dhyāru] Māhiār Āsā,²⁵
witness.

1 A[dhyāru] Hamjiār Jaisang,²⁶
witness.

The water channel shall run past A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang's house] right above (*or* in a right line with *or* parallel to) both the boundary marks. The water which issues from the *Mulvant* (?) of the Agiāry shall pass by A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang's house] right above

24 Māhiār Jaisang Dhayyān was a Bhagariā and the arbitrator named by Rānā Jaisang. His pedigree will be found in the *Bhagarsūth Vanshāvali*, pp. 1. and 30.

25 Mahiar Asā is mentioned in Jāsā's Revāyet of 885 A. Y. 1516 A. C. as well as in Aspandīār Sohrāb's, of about 1520 A. C. My Revāyet MS. folio 97 a and 134 b.

26 This Hamjiār Jaisang was probably one of the two brothers of Rānā Jaisang himself, the other one being Wāchhā, the adoptive father of Dastur Meherji Rānā. *Bhagarsūth Vanshāvali*, p. 1.

(or in a right line with or parallel
to) both the boundary marks. The
water-channel A[dhyāru] Rānā
Jaisang shall dig right above
the boundary marks, and the
water shall pass that way behind
A[dhyāru] Rānā Jaisang ? * * *

I have now to place before you an order dated 1611 V. S. (1555 A. C.) which is, apart from other things, noteworthy as a specimen of the cursive style of writing which was practised by the *Hindu* clerks and officials of Gujarāt in the Sixteenth century. It would appear that Hoshang Rānā—the brother of Meherji—had been, for long, in possession of an In'ām, and that it was taken away from him in consequence of the misrepresentations made by a nameless enemy, to some person in power. Upon this, Hoshang would seem to have gone to Court to right himself, and succeeded in obtaining from the *Malek Shri* himself—the supreme authority in the district—a Parwānā restoring the Jāgir to him. All these facts can be gathered from the paper before us, which is an Order from the District officer of the day to the *Khōts* and *Talātis* of the village of Jalālpur, (near Navsāri), within the limits of which the Bhāththā or land constituting the In'ām of Hoshang was situated. The occurrence of the words, *Khōt* and *Talāti* in this record is of no small interest. It is commonly supposed that the word *Khōt* is of Marāthi origin and that its use is confined to the *Konkan*. This may be true of our own times, but the document before us proves that it was the designation of a village officer or authority of some sort even in the Sixteenth century in southern Gujarāt. Similarly, it has been frequently said that the village officers called *Talātis* were first appointed in Gujarāt only after the establishment of British authority in the Province. This record of A. C. 1555 demonstrates the erroneousness of this supposition, which is further invalidated by the mention of *Talātis* in a Wadhwan inscription of Vikram Samvat 1613 (1557 A. C.), of which a translation is given in the Kattyāwār

Gazetteer (p. 694). The truth is, that village accountants or Talātis, as they are called in this part of the country, existed in Gujarāt many hundred years before the establishment of the East India Company's power in the province.²⁷ The question is not without interest to students of Pārsi history, for the names of Manāji Kūkaji Talāti, and of several other persons bearing that surname, occur in Pārsi documents dated 1723, 1729, 1734 and 1741 A. C. Indeed, the *Pārsi Prakāsh* contains the substance of a Parwānā, dated 1019 A. H. (1610 A.C.) of Nusrat Yār Khān, Governor of Surat, by which the Talātiship of the Parganā of Pārchol and of six other villages was conferred upon Peshotan Chāndā, the great-grand-father of this Manāji Kūkaji [Aspu, Peshotan, Chāndā].²⁸

Illegible.

Katabé Habib 'Abdul Halim (in Persian).

શ્રી દીવાન શક તુશારી વ એહેનરિ માહા મલિકશરક મલિક શ્રી જિનદીન હવાલિ
મલિક શ્રી હખીય અમદાસ હલીમ વ. મં. દેવદાસ કાંહાના આદેશાત મોજિ જલાલપુર

27. Khot. "This is," says Yule, "a Mahratti word, *Khot*, in use in some parts of the Bombay Presidency, as the designation of a person farming villages on a tenure called *Khoti* and coming under the class legally defined as 'superior holders.' * * * The Khot * * * is an exceptional person, holding much the position of a petty zemindar in Bengal. * * In the Southern Konkan, the Khoti has long been a hereditary Zemindar with proprietary rights and also has in many cases replaced the ancient Patel as headman of the village. * * * In the Northern Konkan, the Khotis were originally mere revenue-farmers, without proprietary or hereditary rights, but had been able to usurp both. Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke, 480, 482.

Yule asserts that the *Khot* is apparently traceable back, at least, to the time of the Adilshahi dynasty of the Deccan." He is really much older, and *Khots* are frequently mentioned along with *Muquaddams* and *Chaudharis* in Barni's *Tarikh-i-Firuzshahi* in that writer's account of the reign of Alāuddin Khilji, Bibliotheca Indica Text. 277, 288; Elliot and Dowson. III. 182, 183-4. "*Muquaddam*" ("headman") is the Persian equivalent of *Patel*; the *Chaudhari* was an inferior Zamindār, or land holder, or revenue officer corresponding with the Deshmukh, (Wilson, Glossary. s. v.)

- 28 *Pārsi Prakāsh*. pp. 25, 851, 852, 855-56. and 861-2 Note. The authority of Briggs is sometimes quoted in support of the statement that the *first establishment of Talātis in Gujarāt* is posterior to the consolidation of English authority in the

ખોતાંન વ. તલાટી જોગ જત બાહુ આપિત અધ્યાર હોશંગ રાણાના ઇનામનુ સાલ પસાલ હવં તે રાજસ્વાદિ મધે તે મળલસએલી આગલ કુણિ વ્યાદિત ગુપશાંન કહી માટિ જેમ કીધું હવં તે નિ કીધિ (?) એહ દ્વાર જઈ મલિક શ્રીતું પરવાતું શહી સુદનો લ્યાવ્યા જે એવું બાહુ એહની તસલીમ કરજો તે માટિ એને બાહુ આપૂછિ તમ્હે એહની તસલીમ કરજો એહની એ બાહુ સાલ પસાલ તાંહી કીધૂછિ તહમે ઉજર કસુ મ કરસુ તેરીખ ર માહા રજખ સંવત ૧૬૧૧ વર્ષે ²⁹.

province. Briggs, however, says nothing of the sort, and the statement attributed to him is probably the result of a misunderstanding of the following passage : "In this country," [Gujarat], he says, "each village is found to have much the same institutions as in other parts of India. At its head, was a Patel, or hereditary magistrate, with a Dessaye or district magistrate, and a Mozumdar, or district register, having superintendence over many villages. When we obtained the country, it had been long the practice to permit the Patels, or headmen, to manage the concerns of the village without control, and to allow them to collect and pay the revenue. The consequence of this system was that the *village accountant*, instead of continuing to be a public officer under the Mozumdār, or district register, *had, by degrees, fallen completely under the power of the Patel, and become his dependant.* Thus in many villages there were no accountants at all, and in others they were the private servants of the head man, removable at his pleasure. Under our administration, this evil was severely felt, and it became necessary to *replace the village accountant (called here Tallaty) as a Government officer.* In *restoring* this officer, it seems that, by a slight alteration in the tenure, we have altogether changed the nature of his situation. Where the *Tallaty exists, as he does under all the native Governments*, his office is hereditary : he has a small piece of land and certain fees of office derived from the cultivators, and he is essentially a member of the village community. In *restoring the office*, we have made the Tallaty a mere special organ of the government. He is now a stipendiary without lands or fees ; he is liable to be removed at will, and the office is not hereditary." J. Briggs ; Land Tax of India, ed. 1830, pp. 300-301. (The italics are mine). It will be seen that far from denying the existence of the Talāti in Gujarat in early times, Briggs declares that he has existed under all Native Governments. All that he says is that the Talāti had in several parts of the province fallen completely under the power of the Patel, and lost his position in the Village Community, and that the British finding it necessary to "*replace the village accountant as a government officer,*" *restored* the office, but at the same time, changed the real "nature of his situation."

29 એહબરે (Arab. *Ahzār*)=હજુરમાં ?

હવાલો. Arab. *Hawāleh*, charge, care, custody, trust. "The Havaladar is one holding any office or trust. A steward or agent for the management of a village. The term is variously applied to the commandant of a fort, the chief of a company of guards, a subordinate revenue officer, but in all, it conveys the notion of *trust, deputation or delegated authority.*" H. H. Wilson, Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms. s. v.

Illegible.

Written by Habib Abdul Halim. [in Persian].

The Diwān³⁰ Shri of the division (*Shiqq*) of Navsāri and the Huzur (?) Shri Malik-us-Sharq³¹ Zain-din, and the Havāl[dār ?] Malik Shri Habib A'bdal Halim and Ma[han] ³² Devdās Kāhānān. Order.

To the Khots and Talātis of the *Mauzā* (village) of Jalālpur. A piece of Bhātthāh land had continued year after year to be the In'am of Adhyāru Hoshang Rānā. Some one said some thing to his

આદેશ. By order, of, from Sans. आदेश, order, command, आ up to, and दिख to show.

ભાડ. Land subject to inundation, or deposited by returning floods; alluvial soil. Wilson, *Op. Cit.* s. v.

દર. *lit.* the Door. *i. e.* the Court, Durbār.

તસલીમ. Arab. assign, deliver.

તઘી, Arab. *Ta'yyin*, fixed, appointed.

ઉચ્ચ Arab. '*Uzr*, Excuse, pretext.

30 " Diwān, a royal Court, a council of state, a tribunal of revenue or justice; A minister, or chief officer of state. Under the Mohamadan government, it was especially applied to the head revenue minister, whether of the state or of a province, being charged in the latter, with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the treasury, and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes." Wilson, Glossary. s. v. The word, as well as the office, was borrowed by the Arabs from the Sāssānians, for which see Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke. s. v. Dewaan; Muir, Annals of the Early Caliphate, 225-239; Brown, Literary History of Persia, 204-5.

31 A Gujarāt noble with this title. was one of the five great Amirs who divided that Kingdom among themselves in the reign of Ahmad Shāh III. *Mirdāt-i-Sikandari*, Text, 377, 398. Fāzal Lutfullāh's Trans. 270, 28c. Zain-ud-din was probably his personal name. The title itself had been borne by many other persons at different periods in the history of the Gujarat Sultanate. Bayley. *Op. cit.* 236, 329.

32 This stands most probably for મહેન or મહેનત, Mahan Virā is a name which occurs in the Inscription in Bāi Harir's Well at Ahmedābād of V. S. 1556 (1499 A. C.) Epigraphia Indica, IV. 299-300.

મહેન is prefixed to the names of several Baniās of the Porwād caste in an Inscription of Virdhaval Wāghelā at Delwādā near Abū of V. S. 1287 (1231 A.C.). 'Bhāvnagar Inscriptions, (English). 219-221. See also Ind. Ant. XI. 221. Hultzsch takes as = મહેન, અહિયર, Ibid, XI, 244, Note 19.

prejudice during the [late] visit of the *Majlis-i-'Alī*,³³ so that what had been done, was undone (?), (*i.e.* the gift or In'ām was cancelled ?). He went to Court (or the seat of Government) and brought a properly—sealed Parwānā from the Malek Shri himself, to the effect that his piece of Bhātthāh land should be delivered over to him. Thus the Bhātthāh land has been given to him. You must hand over possession of it to him. This Bhātthāh is to be continued by the Diwān from year to year. You must make no excuses (*i.e.* be guilty of no evasion). Dated the 2nd of the month of Rajab, Vikram Samvat year 1611.

We have next a document which is of great interest, but of which a considerable portion has unfortunately suffered so much from the ravages of time, that it is impossible to give a complete translation. It is a deed recording the partition of the property of Rānā Jaisang between Dastur Meherji Rānā and the sons of Meherji's brother Hoshang. The paper is interesting in the first place, because it contains the autograph signature of Meherji Rānā himself. Indeed, it is probable that the whole agreement is in his handwriting. It is easy to see that Rānā Jaisang's property would not have been divided between Meherji and his nephews, if either Rānā or Hoshang had been alive at the date of this document (1612 V. S.). We have just seen that Hoshang Rānā was alive in 1611 V. S. We also know that Rānā Jaisang was living in A. H. 955, A. Y. 915, in which year

33 *Masnad-i-'Alī* was a title among the Afghāns, and was at one time borne by Khizr-Khān of the Sayyad dynasty of Delhi Sultans. Badāoni, Text, I, 267, 284; Ranking, Trans. I, 352, 375. Thomas, Pathan Kings, 329, note. It also occurs later in connection with a nobleman of the name of Fattu, to whom it had been given by the Sultāns of the Suri dynasty. Ibid. Lowe, II, 159 and note. See also Elliot and Dowson, IV, 45, 399, 437. *Majis-i-Girāmi*, Member of the Exalted Assembly (or High Councillor), which is very similar, was a title bestowed by Mahmūd III of Gujarāt at his accession upon a noble of the name of Daryākhān. *Mirat-i-Sikandari*, Text, 299. Fāzal Latfullāh's Translation, 209.

The *Mirat-i-Sikandari* also mentions a "Masnad-i-'Alī Khudāwand Khān who was Vazir to Muzaḥfir II, as well as to his son Bahādur Shāh. Bombay Lithograph, 1246 A. H. p. 280, Bayley, *Op. cit.* 332.

he transcribed the "*Bahman—nāmekh*." ³⁴ It is probable that the In'-am which was the subject of the immediately preceding paper, was originally Rānā Jaisang's and had descended to Hoshang, in virtue of his having been the eldest son, and that Rānā was dead before 1611 V. S. The question has an important bearing on the dates of the two Revāyets in which the name of Rānā Jaisang occupies the place of honour, but its discussion must be deferred for the present. The provision made for the widow of Rānā Jaisang, the Seventy five Tankās to be given to her out of the common funds and the two trousers and four *sadrās*, which were thought sufficient for a year's wear supply curiously realistic illustrations of the prevailing poverty and the exceedingly low standard of comfort. The reference to the "cattle, bullocks, horses and servants" of Meherji is also not without interest.

* * * ત્રહને ભાહીને આપિહ.
 * * * મુહણસી જેસા તથા
 * * * દક્ષણિ પાસિનું
 * * * * મેત અ. મિહરજી
 * * આપેહ તથા જી ધર ધૈધઆ ખુસેદ
 * * રકનિથી શ્રેષ્ઠ ધૈધએ રાણિ વેચાતું
 * * હતું તી ધર શ્રેષ્ઠ ધૈધઆ કનિથી મિં વે
 * * * * અ. મિહરજીની આપિહું
 * * * પેઆં જી ધર મુહણસી જેસા
 તથા ચાંદ કુકા વજીહતી ધર મજમૂં રાસ માહાં
 થી સમારી માલ બાંધી. અ. મિહરજી લીએ એહ
 * * ની વા * * ગલી આગણિ ઉગમણિની
 * * * કરાનિ આગણિ આગલી દિહ
 * * * ઝાંપાલગિ અ. મિહર
 જનાં દોર બલદ ઘોડાં માણસ સર્વ જાંએ આ
 વિ ત. વરસાતનું પાંણી મજમૂં પરનાલ મૂકી

* મલિઆનું પાણી નળે. અ મિહરજના પાઠા
* * * * પાણી વરસાતનું અ. હોશંગનાં

દીકરાની આગણિ થાઇ ભીતની મોરી માંહાં
થઇ નળે તથા ધર કાઢાની બૂમી જે ગારડીના
કાનથી ખરીદ કીધીછિ તેહ બૂમી છાપરા સ
મેત * * હોશંગના દીકરા ત્રહને બાઇનિ

વડા ધરસ્ત આપી તથા છીડી જે વડાધરનાં
કરાએ જીલીછિ ઉત્તરનિ પાસિની ભીત
લાગતી તેહમાંહાં અધેર્ધિ કરિ જૂજૂઆંત

સમા * કરી ત્રહને બાઈ તથા આ મિહરજ
આપણુસી વાવરિ. એહ છીડી તશતખાનાની
વાટ મલિઆં એકકનિ પાસ થઇ નળે આવી
તથા જે કાંઇ ગૂંજ ગદીઆંણુ જે કઇ હુએતી
તે * કાંઈ કસુડ અસબાબ

બરણી ત. મજૂસ માલઆં અધેર્ધિ વિહિચી
લીએ. અપ્રં ડોશી અ. હોશંગની માએ અ. હશંગના ધર
માં ઉતરા આથમણાંમાંહ રીહિ વાવરિ * * * મિ

પુટ સુએ નંજીવિ તાંલગિ રિહિ તથા ડોશીનિ ટંકા) ૭૫ ટંકા * * *
જીજુ બારા મજૂમૂં રાસ માંહાંથી આપિ. આજર બિ શુદરા ૪ વરસો વરસ આપતા
નળે. અપ્રં તાડ વ ખજૂરાં વ બૂમી મીરાસ તથા ધનામ જી કાંઇ હુએ તિ સર્વ
ત્રહને બાંધ અ. હોશંગના દીકરા તથા અં મિહરજ વાજા સાથિ અધેર્ધિ સમિ
બાગ વિહિચી લીએ”

દર દીવાનનું બેટ ઘાટ સર્વ મલિઆં કરિ અસ્ય લખિત વિધ પ્રપાલનાયા.

અત્ર મતાનિ

૧ લા મહીઆર વાજા

૧ લા જેશંગ હોશંગ

૧ લા ખુરશેદ હોશંગ

અત્ર શાખ

અપ્રં તથા જી કાઇ રણુ કરેજ

દેવું હુએ તી સર્વ મલિઆં

આ હોશંગના દીકરા ૩ ત્રહને

૧ લા બહમન હોસંગ.

તથા અ. મિહરજી અ
ધો અર્ધ વિહિચી આપિ
રોજ આવાં માહા આવાં
સંવત ૧૬૧૨ બારોત્રા
સર્વ જી રજુ હુએ તી સર્વ
અર્ધોઅર્ધ આપિ ³⁵

*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*

The house belonging to Dhayyān Khurshed which had been bought from him by Shraisht (Sheth) Dhayyān Rānā and afterwards sold by the latter to Rānā Jaisang is to go to Meherji, and another also which had been mortgaged by Muhansi Jaisā and Chāndā Kukā to Rānā Jaisang is to be repaired and a story added to it out of the common funds, and occupied by him. Meherji's cattle, bullocks, horses and servants, are to have free passage through the yard on the eastern side, and the rain-water falling from the upper story of his house is to find its way along a channel common to both houses. A piece of land, which had been

35 મુહુચી. This must not be taken as a surname and identified with 'Munshi'.

મુહુચી, or મોહાંચી (Mohansi[ng]) appears to have been a very common name among Behdins in those times, and occurs frequently in the old *Nāmgrahan* appended to the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*, pp. 227-228.

પરનાલ, (Sans. પ્રનાલિકા, a watercourse, from પ્ર founh and નલ a reed), A water-pipe, a water-conveyance.

જુજુઆત. Somewhat, Pers. /uzvi.

તશ્તબાની, Watercloset, from Pers. *Tasht*-basin and *Khāneh*, house.

ગુજ, specie, cash or money in the pocket. from, ગુજ,

ગુજુ, ગજુ, from ગુજ, Secret, from Sans. ગુધ.

મજુસ ડ. e. પેટારી, chest, wooden box or trunk. Sans. મજુષા.

જીર્ણ બારા ડ. e. જીર્ણ પ્રતાપાહાર. પ્રતાપબરાહ.

આબર ડ. e. ધબર, Trousers. Arab.

કરેલ. The side wall of a house.

કાદો. A channel dug out to carry away superfluous water. A drain.

bought, along with the tenement upon it, from the Gārdīs⁸⁶ is allotted to the three brothers. A narrow alley on the north side of the big family-house [which seems to have gone to them] is to be divided equally and used in common. The moveable property in cash, bullion furniture, glazed earthenware, chests, etc. is to be divided equally, [half going to Meherji and the other half jointly to the three sons of Hoshang]. The old mother of Hoshang is to occupy and use and sleep in that part of Hoshang's house which is on the North-west. She is to be given 75 Old Tarkās Prataḥbāhrā out of the common funds, and is also to be provided with 2 pairs of trousers and 4 Sadrās every year [by the parties jointly]. All the Tād trees, wild date trees, and lands, *Mirās* as well as *Inām*, are to be divided similarly, so that half would go to Meherji and the other half to the three brothers, sons of Hoshang. The charges incident to all claims made by the state and of all presents and gifts to officials are to be borne in the same proportion by the parties. The agreement is to be observed.

Written by me, Mahyār Wācchā.

Written by me, Jaisang Hoshang.

Written by me, Khurshed Hoshang.

Written by me, Bahman Hoshang.

All debts and liabilities also are to be paid in the same proportion, half by Meherji, and the other half by the three sons of Hoshang.

Roz (day) Avān, Māh (month) Avān 1612, [Sixteen hundred and Twelve]. Whatever debts there may be are to be divided equally.

36 Gārdī was the designation of an old Pārsi family. In the very old *Nāmagrahan*, or "List of deceased Zoroastrians" appended to the *Bhagavatsath Vanshāvali*, there are nearly a hundred names of men and women belonging to the families of Gārdī Hāchā Asā and Gārdī Mahiyār Āsadin, and almost every one of these names is prefixed by the letter 'گ' (pp. 232-3.). Indeed, the surname still exists among us, and the death of a young lady of that family was recorded but recently in the *Jamē Jamshed* of the 14th of February 1916. The meaning of the word is exceedingly obscure, and it would be fruitless to indulge in conjectures connecting it with the European *Guard* or *Gardē*. (cf. Ibrāhīm Khān Gārdī, *Shivrām Gardī* (Kathiyawar Gazetteer, 480), or with *Gārudi*, گاردی, (Snake-charmer) or Gādrī, گادری, Keeper of sheep. The Gārdīs were Vorās, or small traders, and Behedins or laymen, and it is quite possible that in the well-known Navsāri surname of Gārdā, we have a survival of the ancient family designation in a *slightly altered* form. The name of Ratanji Kāusji Gārdā occurs in a Petition presented to Nawāb Teghbeg Khān of Surat by several Pārsis in 1736 A. C. *Parsi Prakash* 853.

We have next to consider a paper which is dated sixteen years later, and which is curious for the mention of the name of Muhammad Hussain Mirzā in conjunction with that of the rightful King Muzaffar III, in such a manner as to imply that they were joint sovereigns. It is fairly well-known that Muhammad Hussain had taken advantage of the weakness of Muzaffar and the internecine strife in Gujarāt to usurp the authority in Surat and Broach, and it was to him and to the other turbulent descendants of the house of Timur who had revolted against Akbar and sought refuge in Gujarāt, that the armed intervention of the 'Great Mogul' in the province was mainly due."

It appears from this writing that a piece of land at Ghelkhadi was sold in 1628 V. S. (1572 A. C.) by the brothers Minocheher Bahman, and Nusherwān [Bahman Manek] Chāngā to Meherji Rānā for 104 Tankās. We have seen how a nephew of Chāngā Āsā's had been forced by the pressure of debt, to sell a house to Rānā Jaisang in 1595 V.S. We now find two of Chāngā Āsā's great grandsons parting, probably from a similar inability to meet, their obligations, with a piece of land which was their joint property, to Rānā Jaisang's son, Meherji. In deed, there is reason to believe that the best days of the Chāngā Āsā family terminated with or soon after

- 37 Sultān Mirzā, a prince of the house of Tamerlane, had come to India with Bābar and rebelled against Humāyūn. He had four sons and three nephews. They revolted at Sumbhal in the reign of Akbar and were "compelled to fly to Guzerāt (1566): yet they there sowed the seeds of future troubles which only ended with the subjugation of that Kingdom. * * * The Mirzās took refuge in their flight with Chengiz Khān. Their extravagant pretensions soon drove them into a quarrel with their protector; and after some partial success, they were expelled from Guzerāt and made an attempt to seize on Mālwa, not long after the taking of Chitor in A. D. 1568. Akber forthwith sent an army against them, but its services were not required, for Chengiz Khān had in the meantime been assassinated, and the Mirzās returned to Guzerat to take advantage of the confusion which followed. Those confusions continued to rage without intermission till the year 1572, when Akber was solicited by Etimād Khān to put an end to the distraction of Guzerāt by taking the Kingdom into his own possession." Elphinstone, *History of India*, ed. Cowell. 504, 507-8.

the death of Mānek Chāngā. We know from the Saledced of 1517 A. C. (923 A. H.) that Mānek was Desāi of the township of Navsārī.³⁸ His son, Bahman, the father of Minocheher and Nusherwān, would appear to have died, during the life time or very soon after the death of Mānek, leaving these two boys, who were both very young. It is not at all improbable that, during their minority, their affairs were mismanaged, and themselves involved in financial embarrassment by the negligence or dishonesty of their servants. It is certain that the prosperity of this Behdin family was slowly declining, and that of Meherji Rānā and his son Kaikobād simultaneously growing during the last quarter of the 16th Century.

સંવત ૧૬૨૮ વરષે માહા આવાં રોજ મારસપદ અદે શ્રી નાગમંડલ કરણે પાદસાહા શ્રી મજશરસા વજરાભ્યે ઉ (૧?) પાદસાહ શ્રી માંહાંમદ હોસિન મીરજેહાં અમલ હવાલિ મીરાં સિદ કમાલ વેઆપારે પંચકુલ પરતિપત્ન આ શ્રી મહિરજી રાંશુાં પારસવાત મનોચહિર અક્ષન વા તુસેરવાંત ચાંગા હજાપિરાંગી દતાનિ જન ટંકા પ્રતાપાહારા ૧૦૪ અંકે ટંકા એકચુચિયાર જીરણ માડિ ગિહિવખરી સંમંધિ ખજૂરાં અક્ષારાં જે હુએ તે સરવ તથા ભૂમી કતુ સરવ સમેત ચંદરકાલી વેચાતુ આપેક ભૂમી તથા ખ તૂરાં ગિવખરી સંમંધ જે હુએ તે આ મહિરજી રાંશુાંતે મનોચહિર અક્ષન વા તુસેરવાંત ચાંગી ચદરકાલ વેચાતુ આપેક અસલ ખત મધે મપ્રપાલ નાએક.

અતર મતંગ.

૧ કટાપિ મનોચહિર

અક્ષન

તતર સાખ

૧ લુહુરાશ કએઆ સાખ

૧ સહીયાર ચાંધઆં સાખ

³⁸ "About the year 1510, the people of Surat asked Imād-ul-Mulk Rumi to whom a Surat was at that time assigned, to remove their governor, Khaliwāl Khan. As Khadawād Khan refused to resign, Imād-ul-Mulk advanced against him and on his reaching Surat, Khaliwāl Khan agreed to submit. But he planned to betray, and invited Imād-ul-Mulk to meet him in a secret room, had him assassinated. Gangiz Khan, Imād-ul-Mulk's son, marched against Surat, and engaging the Portuguese as allies, took the fort and slew Khaliwāl. In 1572, Surat fell into the hands of the Mirzas, then in rebellion against the Emperor Akbar. The Mirzas strengthened the fort and prepared for resistance. In the beginning of 1573 (January 15th), Akbar arrived before Surat, and after a vigorous siege which lasted for about six weeks the fort surrendered." *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. II, (Surat), p. 72. See also Dow, *History of Hindustan*, Vol. II, 243 (Ed. 1812).

१ नुसेरवान यांगा मर

१ मालुका हीरा साध

१ नरसंग मालुका साध

In the [Vikram] Samvat year 1628, Roz (day) Māraspand Māh. (month) Ābān, here in Nāgmandal (*i.e.*, Navsāri) when Pādshāh Shri Muzaffar Shāh³⁹ was conducting the government triumphantly together with Pādshāh Shri Mahāmmad Hosein Mirzā, when the executive authority ('*Amal*') was in charge of Mirān Sayyid Kamāl, and with the cognisance or consent of a body of five persons of good family (*or* scribes)—To A[dhyārū] Meherji Rānā from Minocheher Bahman and Nuserwān Chāngā who have given this in their own handwriting. We have sold to you for ever (*lit.* as long as the moon endures) for 104 One hundred and four Pratābāhārā Tankās of the old [stamp], all our wild date-trees (*Khajūrān*) in Ghel-Khadi together with the land. All the land and all the wild date-trees that are ours in Ghel-Khadi have been sold, for as long as the the moon endures, to A[dhyārū] Meherji Rānā by Minocheher Bahman and Nuserwān Chāngā. This agreement is to be observed.

Here the Signatories.

Here the Witnesses.

Written by me Minocheher Bahman. Luhurāsh Kayyā, witness.

Nuserwān Chāngā⁴⁰.

1 Sahyyār Chāyyān, witness.

1 Mānkā Hirā, witness.

1 Narsang Mānek, witness.⁴¹

39 This was Muzaffar III.—the boy Natthū or Nannhū or Habbū who was set up by 'Ismid Khān Gurmīn as puppet king in 968 A. H. and driven from the throne by Akbar in 985 A. H. (1561 A. C.—1572 A. C.). Briggs, *Ferishta*. IV. 155-165.

40 Minocheher Bahman's name is found in the Revāyet-i-Kāus Kīmīn (my Revāyet MS. folio 213a), in the Populivwily Inām document of 1627 V. S. (1573 A. C.), *Mody, Op. Cit.* 155-7, and the Letter of introduction brought by Farān Marzbān from the District of Irān which was addressed to Dastur Meherji Rānā, Dastur Hoshang Āsī, Bahān Minocheher Bahman and Nushirwān Chāngā in R. Unwill's Lithograph of Darāb Hamaizīd's Revāyet. II. 397-8 and 452. The language of extraordinary deference in which the last two individuals, Minocheher and his brother Nushirwān are spoken of, indicates that they were the acknowledged leaders of the Navsāri community about the time the letter was written—which unfortunately bears no date, but which West conjectures to have been written about 1570 A. C. *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, II. 125.

41 This Narsang Mānek's name occurs in a Suleed of V. S. 1514 which is included in this bundle. The name of his brother Nāgoj Mānek occurs in Kāus Kīmīn's Revāyet.

Another Saledeed of five years later shows Meherji Rānā—who is called here Meherji Wācchā on account of his having been adopted by his uncle Wācchā Jaisang—again purchasing “some real property” in the shape of a small house adjoining his own, from the owner, Patel Khurshed Chāchā. The price, Ten Tankās Pratābāhrā is sufficient to indicate that the dwelling of Patel Khurshed must have been of the class so graphically and contemptuously described by the opulent French jeweller.

It may be not unworthy of notice that after this date, 1633 V. S. (1577 A. C), the Pratābāhra Tankā is not mentioned, and that even here, the debt is said to have been one of long standing. This is not at all difficult to understand if we bear in mind that Gujarāt was conquered by Akbar in 1572 A. C. and that the old Currency of the Gujarāt Sultāns must have been, in consequence, superseded by the issues of the Mughal mints. Indeed, our Museums contain numerous specimens of Akbar's coinage put forward from the Nahrwāllā Pattān and Ahmadābād mints, soon after the conquest.⁴²

સંવત ૧૬૩૩ વરખે તેત્રીસઉત્રાવરખે રોજ મુહુ માહ૦ અમિરદાદ અદેહ શ્રી
ગુગમંડલ કરણે પાદસાહ શી અકબરસાહ વિજ્ઞાને અમલખાન શ્રી કુલેચ માંહાંમદખાન
વ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રતપૃથા. આ. મહિરજી વાછ પારત્યાત પટિલ ખુરસેદ ચાચા આસા
હસ્તાખિરાંશી જત ટંકા જરણ પ્રતપાહારા ૧૦ અકે દસ આ. મહિરજી વાછ
પાસથી પા. ખુરસેદચાચિ રોક લીધા એ ગુરથ માઠિ પા. ખુરસેદિ ધિર આસા સહીયાર
આ. મહિરજી વાછાનિ ચતુરસીમા સમેત ટંકા દસમાઠિ ચંદરાઅરખ વેચાત આપિઉં સહિ
સમા (?) બાબત લીધુંહ તે ધિર અસલ ખત મધે પ્રેપાલનાએઅહ.

અતમતાનિ.

અત સાખે.

૧ પ૦૧ ખુરસેદ ચાચા મતુ * *(?) ટંકા

૧ આ. ચાંદણાં કાકા સાખે ધિર વેચાતું

૧૦ દસમાઠ * * * આ. મેહરજી વાછાન

અપેઉ સહિ કઇ દાવે નહી.

આપઉ સહી.

૧૭. ખુરસેદ આસા સાખ

૧ અ. પદમ રત્નમ સાખ

૧ પેસીતન જવા આ સાખ

42 H. Nelson Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. Vol. III, *passim*. R. B. Whitehead. Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum. Vol. II, *passim*.

૧ આ ફરેદુન કાંમદીન સાખ
 ૧ આ મોવદ સાએર સાખ
 ૧ આ નરસંગ મહિરવાંન સાખ
 ૧ મિગિારડી હરજી સાખ
 ૧૭. મોવદ આસા સાખ

In the [Vikram] Samvat year 1633, Thirty-third, on Roz (day) Muhu[r], Māh (month) Amirdād, here in Nāgmandal, (*i. e.* Navsāri) when the Pādshāh Shri Akbarshāh was reigning triumphantly, when the executive authority (*Amal*) was with the Khān Shri Qulich Muhammad Khān * and with the cognisance or consent of a body of five persons of good family (*or* scribes). To A[dhyāru] Meherji Wācchā from Patel Khursed Chāchā Asā who [has given this] in his own handwriting. To wit, Pa[tel] Khursed Chāchā had borrowed from A[dhyāru] Meherji Wācchā 10 ten Pratbāhārā Tankās of the old [Stamp], in cash. In return for the value thereof, Pa[tel] Khursed has sold in perpetuity, (*lit.* as long as the moon endures) and with all its four boundaries, the house of Asā Sahyār, which he [the Patel], had taken * * *, to A[dhyāru] Meherji Wācchā for ten Tankās. This agreement is to be observed.

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- 43 The fort of Surat was surrendered to Akbar on the 23rd of Shawwāl 980 A.H. (1573 A.C.). Nizāmuddin Ahmad tells us that the Emperor went to inspect the fortress on the next day and that he placed "the government, (*lit.* the guarding) of the fort and the adjoining district," (*Harāsāt-i-Qilaa Surat wa an ndhiyah*) in the charge of Qulij Muhammad Khān. *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, Lucknow Lithograph, 298-99; Elliot and Dowson, V. 350. We may reasonably suppose that Navsāri was included in this *Nāhiyah*, or adjoining district. This charge Qulij Khān appears to have retained for many years. He is spoken of as the Jāgirdār of Surat in 992 A. H. (1584 A.C.), *Tabaqāt*, ib. 355; Elliot and Dowson V. 434, and he rendered good service during the rebellion raised by Muzaffar Gujarāti in the province in that year, (Elliot and Dowson V. 435-37). Indeed, Nizāmuddin tells us, in another place, that Sultān Khwājah, the *Mir-i-Haj*, or leader of the pilgrim caravan to Mecca—reported from Surat that he was unable to pursue his voyage without a Pass (*gaul*) from the Portuguese. Qulij Khān was thereupon ordered to secure the passes from the Europeans and succeeded in doing so with the assistance of Kalyānrāi Baqqāl, a merchant of Cambay. Elliot and Dowson, V. 402-3. His connection with Gujarāt does not appear to have terminated before 996-97 A.H. (1588-89 A.C.), when he was appointed assistant to Todarmal—the Diwān of the Empire. Lowe, *Badāoni*, II. 376-77; Elliot and Dowson, V. 457.

Here the signatures.

Pa[tel] Khursed Chāchā
for ten Tankās * * *
given it to A[dhyārū]
Meherji Wācchā.

Here the Witnesses.

A[dhyārū] Chāndnā Kākā,
witness.⁴⁴

The house has been sold for
certain. No claim [is to be made
hereafter].

1 Vu[hrā] Khursed Āsā,
witness.

1 A[dhyārū] Padam Rustam,
witness.

1 Pesitan Jivā A[dhyārū],
witness.

1 A[dhyārū] Faredun Kāmdin,
witness.

1 A[dhyārū] Movad Sāher,
witness.

1 A[dhyārū] Narsang Mihirvān,
witness.

1 Gārdi Mihirji, witness.

1 Vu[hrā] Movad Āsā, witness.

I have next to invite your attention to a private letter written from Lāhore by the Nuserwān [Bahman Mānek] Chāngā of the Sale-deed of V. S. 1628, to his mother Bāi Dhanāi in Navsāri. The exceedingly respectful manner of address, the genuine solicitude for the welfare of all the members of the family the resigned and hopeful tone in the midst of adversity, and the loving remembrances sent to the "worshipful aunts Jāsi and Shāhzan, and Hirā and Māhlan" cannot fail to produce a very favourable impression upon our minds as to the character of the writer. It would seem that Nuserwān and his son Kukā [or Kaikotād] had been, for some reason not stated, thrown into prison at Lāhore. They were,

44 Ervad Chāndnā Kākā's name occurs in the two documents of 1635 and 1636 V. S. (1579 and 1570 A. C.) by which the Anjuman of Navsāri, conceded to Meherji Rānā the first place, and constituted him, of their own free will, their spiritual head—*Mody. Op. Cit.* 147-151.

it must be remembered, hereditary Desāis of Navsāri, and were, as such, responsible for the payment of the Revenue assessment of the Township. It is not unlikely that they were treated as defaulters, and placed under restraint on account of their inability to meet the state demand. They declare that they were, under God, indebted for their deliverance to the good offices of [Dastur] Kākā (Kaikobād) Meherji [Rānā], who had pursued the Emperor with entreaties on their behalf "day and night, hungry and thirsty." They add that it was out of their power to reward his service there and then, and they therefore request that a shop and a garden of theirs in Navsāri should be handed over to Bāi Kiki the wife, and Mahrnush the son, of Dastur Kaikobād. Unfortunately, there is nothing to indicate the year in which this interesting epistle was penned, though the Pārsi day and month are mentioned. It is consequently impossible to say whether the Emperor with whom Dastur Kāikobād had some influence was Akbar or Jehāngir. We know that the two Farmāns by which the Jāgir of 300 Binghās of land was bestowed upon Dastūr Kaikobād Meherji Rānā are dated in the 40th (1003 A.H.) and 48th (1011-12 A. H.) years of Akbar's reign.⁴⁵ We also know that Akbar's head-quarters were at Lāhore from the 6th Rabi 1001 A. H. (Thirty-seventh Regnal year) to the 21st of Abān 1007 A. H. (Forty-third Regnal year), except for a few days' Shikār in 1003 A. H. and a short trip to Kāshmir in 1005 A. H.⁴⁶ It is not very likely that these Farmāns were obtained without personal solicitation at Court. At the same time, it is also possible that the letter was written in the reign of Jehāngir. In any case, it is certain, that the date is somewhere between 1590 A. C. and 1610 A. C., for the Desāiship itself was transferred to Dastur Kaikobād about 1608 A. C.⁴⁷ He does not appear to have been very happy for the acquisition, but there can be little doubt that he held it for some years. Indeed, I possess two old copies of a Persian petition addressed to the Emperor Jehāngir by Dastur Kaikobād, who also tasted when his turn came, the sweets of a Mughal dungeon, and was released only

45 Mody. *Op. Cit.* 102, 125.

46 Abul Fazl, Akbarnāmah, Bibl. Ind. Text. III. 630, 655, 721, 745.

47 *Pārsi Prākāśh.* p. 10 and note.

after many appeals for mercy, and the endurance of much suffering and hardship.

॥: स्वस्त शी नुशारी स्थाने पूज्य माताञ्च भी धनाद्य वौ शंभस्त એતે લાહુર સ્થાનાત નુશેરવાન [ના] કેન્ય દેઆ જત ઇહાં ભદ્રંછિ તદ્વારા [સ]માચાર લખજો અપરંગ આ. રસ્તમે કાગલ લ[ખેઉહ]વં તેમાં લખેજી જે બાહીતુ વેહેવા કીધું તેભણું કીધું કરીએ અંતા મુંકરસુ દાદાર ભણું કરશે ચેણુંજીવી કૂકાજીને ભી પાછલથી ત[મારી] પાશ મો-કલથુ તે આવી શર્વની શંબાલ કરશે. બીઁ આ કાકા મહિરજીએ અકારી ખજમત ઘણી કીધી રાત દંન બૂખે પેઆશે [પાદ]શાહની ખજમત કરી બરદાશ કરી મુકાવેઆ જોડ-વનાર તુ દાદાર છિ પંચુ તલ્લોએ તેહકીક જાણુવું જે કાકાજીની ચાકરીથી છૂટા છેએ * * * ભી કાંઇ હવં નહી જે આપીએ તેને ખોશી કરીએ. તાંલગ ચેણુંજીવી કૂકાજી-એ કહેઉ જે * * * હાટ ગાંચુ બાબતનું તથા વાડી વાંગરીઉ એ આપેઉ ચેણુંજીએ તા. અઢોએભી લખી આપીઉ છે હવિ તલ્લો બાઇ કીકી આ. કિકબાદની અહસ્તને ધર બોલાવી હાટ તથા વાડી આપજો જેમ તે આંમશી કબજ કરિ વાંણીઉ કોઇ ત્યાં હાટ માંડતુ હુએ તેને રજ દેજો જે હાટ એહુને બખશેઉ છિ ભાડું આ કાકાને ધિર આપિ ને ચેણુંજીવી મહિરદુશ કાકાની સહી કરીને લખાવી આપજો.

ખર્ચની કરી અંતા મું કરસુ પાછલથી માણુશ આવશે તેથી પ્રીછથુ હવ સિવે જીકરાં રંમતાં લખજો. બાઈ ચાંદણી મકાઇ હાંશીઆઇની ખબર લેતાં રહિજો. કોઇ આવતું જાણુંતું શંમાચાર કાગલ લખજો. રોજ. બીઁ એ લખજો જે વેહવાને સુએક ખર્ચ આઇજી જે કાંઇ કરજ હોશિ તુ ચેણુંજીવી આવી આપાશિ. બાકી શંમાચાર ચેણુંજી કૂકાજીનાં કાગલથી પ્રીછથુ રોજ બદાન માહા દએ.

પૂજ માસી જાસી તા માસી શાજંચુ તા. માસી હીરાં તા. માસી માહાલંચુને અઢાર નમશકાર કહેજો. 48

48 स्वस्त Sans. स्वस्ति, सु+अस्ति, May it be well. An exclamation of benediction: Hail.

समस्त All. entire, whole: सम-together: अस्त to throw. (Belskare).

अपरंभ., अपरंभ. And moreover, and further.

ચેણુંજીવી, ચિરંજીવ, ચિરંજીવો, ચિરંજીવો. (from Sans. ચિર, long): long lived; immortal, eternal. As an adjective, it is used with reference to a relative younger than the speaker. (Belsare).

બામરિઉ, probably વગડો, plain, open field, waste land.

અહસ્ત, elsewhere spelt અરિસ્ત, wife, mistress of a house. Sans. અહિણી, wife,

મુઠ્ઠ, house. મીઠમું. મહેલપુજી. Sans. પૂછ to ask.

May it be well.

To the worshipful mother Dhanāi and all the other members of the family in Shri Navsāri town, Nushervān sends a message of greeting from the town of Lāhore. Matters here are well; write to us news of yourselves. Next, it was written in the letter which was in the handwriting of A[dhyārū] Rustam that the marriage of Bāi had taken place. It was well [that it was] done. Have no fear (*or* anxiety). The Lord will do everything well. Kukāji also, (May he live for ever),⁴⁹ will be sent later on to you and he will take care of you all. Next, A[dhyārū] Kākā Meherji⁵⁰ has done us great service. Night and day, hungry and thirsty, he was in attendance upon the Pādshāh and got us released [from prison]. The [real] Deliverer is [of course] the Lord, but you may take it as certain that we owe our liberty to the good offices of Kākāji. * * * We had nothing that we could give him or with which we could gratify (*i. e.*, reward) him. Kukāji, then, (May he live for ever), said * * and we gave him as a present the shop relating to Gāngu and the meadow and garden. Kukāji, (May he live for ever), and myself have signed the deed of gift. Now you must invite Bāi Kiki the wife of Kaikobād, and give her the shop and the garden so that she may take possession of the same. Dismiss the Baniā who has opened his shop [there], and [tell him] that the shop has been given away in gift to her and that he must pay the rent to A[dhyārū] Kākā's family (*lit.* house) and get a receipt in writing from Mahrnosh Kākā, May he live for ever.

49 Kukā or Kaikobād was the name of Nushervān's son. He is the Behdin Kaikobād Naushirwān of the Revāyet of Kāns Māhyar (970 A.Y. 1601 A.C.). *Parsi Prakash.* 839. In the Revāyets of Bahman Aspandīār of A. Y. 995. (1626-27 A.C.) he is spoken of as Behdin Sheth Kukā. *Ibid.* p. 11-13. M. R. Unwalla, Lithograph, II. 149, 158.

50 Dastur Kaikobād, son of Dastur Meherji Rānā appears to have been known by the name of Kākā (Uncle). The Colophon of the Dīrābnāme, of which a copy was procured for him by Nushervān Bahman Mānek Chāngā, *i. e.*, by the writer of this letter, from the Library of the Emperor Akbar himself, shows the connection that existed between these two persons, and also that Naushirwān was a man of some influence at Court. *Mody, Op. cit.* 172-74.

Do not have any anxiety about expenses. We shall ascertain (*lit.* inquire) everything through the person who will come later. Write to say if all the children are in good health (*lit.* playing) and continue to make [kind] inquiries about Bāi Pomi, Bāi Makāi, and Hansiāi. Write letters [conveying] news of yourselves, if you know of any one going [from Navsāri to Lāhore]. Also write what the marriage ceremony has cost. [Kukāji], (May he live for ever), will pay all debts. Other inquiries we shall make in the letter of Kukāji, (May he live for ever). Roz (day) Bahman, Māh (month) Dai.

Convey our respectful homage (*Namashkār*) to our worshipful aunt Jāsi, aunt Shāhjan, aunt Hirā and aunt Māhlan.

A paper of V. S. 1697 (1641 A. C.) furnishes another example of the amicable settlement of a dispute between Dastur Mahrnusah Kaikobād [Meherji Rānā] on the one part, and the three sons of Vohrā Jamshed, on the other. The name of one of the four umpires—Ervad Meherji Chāndnā, is not without interest, as it is, *probably*, that of the priest who subsequently made common cause with Ervad Minocheher Homji and joined the latter's party with his four grown-up sons. *If so*, he must have reached, if not passed, the "the three score years and ten" of the Psalmist, when he threw in his lot with the seceders after the ferment of 1686 A. C. ⁵¹

The award of the Umpires shows that the Tankā Pratābāhrā was no longer current, and we now hear of Changiz Khāni Mahmūdis in their stead, which are known from other sources, to have been current at this time in Surat, Broach and other parts of Southern Gujarat.⁵² The new thing that the document teaches us is that the people's own name for these coins was *Chhāpri*—a word which I have not found in any Gujarāti Dictionary, in this particular sense.

⁵¹ *Pārsi Prakāsh*. 846 note.

⁵² "The traveller Mandelslo in 1638 A.C. says that the Mahmūdis made at Surat of a very base alloy are worth about twelve pence sterling, and go only at Surat, Barodā, Broitschia (Broach), Cambaiyā and those parts. They were twenty-six *payse* in his time to a Mahmūdi and fifty-four to a rupee. * * * Mr. E. Thomas, Numismatic Chronicle, Vol. III, Third Series, quotes Sir Thomas

જવત ૧૬૯૭ વરખે રોજ મેહર માહા તીર અદેહે શ્રી નાગમંડલ કરણે પાદશાહ શ્રી
 મહેન્દ્રાં વજરાળે અમલ અળરે નવાબ શ્રી માળુલમલક શકદાર મેતા શ્રી વંણારસીદસ
 વેઆપારે પંચકુલ પ્રતપતઉ આ. મેહરનોશ કેક્યાદ પારસવાત વુ. શાપૂરજમસેદ તા. વુ.
 ધનજી જમસેદ તા. વુ. નાંધલા જમસેદ બાઈ તરણે એકાબદ એકમતી હસ્તાખેરાંણે
 દંતાને જત અમો અમારાં વડાંની ભૂમી આં મેહરનોસ કેક્યાદને પાસે દ્વતી તેને વાસ્તે
 વડતા દ્વતા તે જંણુ ૪) એઆર ખેસી ચૂકવેઉ આં મેહરજી ચાંદણાં તાં આં નુસેરવાંન
 જમસેદ તાં આં હરમજ આશા તાં આ. નુરોજ હમજઆર એ જંણુ એઆર ખેસી
 જાપરી ચીગસખાંની ૨૫ અંકે પચીસ પૂરી આપી ચૂકવેઉ એ જમીનની અરજતૂલપને
 ગજ ૧૦ અંકે દસ લખાઈ ગજ ૨૨ બાવીસ પુહલાઈ ગજ બાવીસ પુહલાઈ. આએ
 જમીનની વગત. ભાગ ૧) વુ. પાલણુ આસાનુ આ. મેહરનોસ કેક્યાદને પાસ બખસિસ
 હૂતું તા. ભાગ બીજી વુ. મહીઆરનુ તા. વુ. મોવદનું ભાગતીજી તા. જમસેદ
 પદંમનુ તા. મારા બાપની બપાહીતું હીસુ હૂતુ તેનુ દાવુ કરતુ હૂતુ તે અમોને જંણુ
 એઆર ખેસી નસતારેઉ આજ પછી અમારે આં મેહરનોસ કેક્યાદ શાયે દરદાવે બાઈ
 તરણેતું કસુ દાવે નહી જાપરી પચીસ અંકે પચીસ અમો રોક લીધી એ ગૂરજ
 બદલે જમીન ગજ ૧૦ અંકે દસ ચદરકાલ વેચાતી આપી એ જમીનની ચતુર સીમા
 પૂરવ સીમા મરવાદ પચમ સીમા આ. મેહરનોસ કેક્યાદ ઉતર સીમા શારેઆંમ દખણુ
 સીમા આં મેહરનોસ કેક્યાદ કતુ ખરીદ આં પદંમ ચાંદણાંની ગરૈરત પાસથી લીધુ

Herbert as saying about 1676 A.D., 'a Mahmūdi is twelve pence, a rupee two shillings and three pence.' Bayley, History of Gujarat, 16, note. The *Mirāt-i-Ahmadi* also informs us that the *Changizi Mahmūdi* was current in the Port of Surat and the districts of Barodā, Dabhoi, Godhrā and Nāndod. Bayley, Ibid. 12, 13, 14. That writer gives twenty-five lacs of Rupees as the equivalent of fifty lacs of Changizis, and, in another place, declares that fifty lacs of the latter were equal to only twenty lacs of the former. (Ib. p. 14). The value of coins often varied in India not only from time to time, but also from place to place, and we may, therefore, take it that the Changizi Mahmūdi was equal to between 2/5 and 1/2 of a rupee, i. e., between 6 and 8 annas.

The name Changizi is derived from Changiz Khān who was, during the last ten years of the reign of Muzaffar III, the most important person in Southern Gujarāt, and it may be said with truth that the disorders which followed upon his assassination by Jhujhār Khān Habshi in 1571 A. C. precipitated the fall of the Gujarāt Saltanat. Briggs, Ferishta, IV. 155-163. "These Surat Mahmūdīs, we may confidently affirm, are identical with the silver coins which Stanley Lane-Poole has designated in the British Museum Catalogue 'Coins of Gujarāt Fabric.' They are known only in silver and are of two denominations corresponding in weight to the half and the quarter rupee. * * * The dates on the specimens known to me range from H. 985 to H. 1027." G. P. Taylor, Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XXII. No. 62 (1908), p. 247. See also Numismatic Supplement. II. Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal (1904) and Numismatic Supplement. VI. 1905, where these conclusions are fully established.

આખત કસાઈનું (?) તેની હદ એવ'ગ ચતુર સીમા સમેત આં મેહરનોસ કેકબાદને હાત
અમો બાઈ તરણેય ચંદરકાંત વેચાતી આપી એ વાતની કસી કેણુ કડીઅત નહી અસલ
ખત મધે પરીપાલનાઈ.

અતરમવ

૧ તત્રશાખ

૧ વુ.૧ સાપુર જમસેદ મતુ

૧

૧ વુ.૧ ધનજી જમસેદ મતુ

૧ આ. અરદવાન સુહુરાખ સાખા

૧ નંધલા મતુ

૧ આ. આશા સુત હરમજ સાખ

મિયુદી પચીસ પુતી

૧ આા જમસેદ રાણુજી સાખ

આ. મિહિરનોસ કેકબાદ

૧ હોસંગ નરસંગ શાખ

આથિ દરદાવે નહી

૧ બિહિરાંમ સેઠ કચેઆ સાખ

૧ અ. નિરોજ હમજીઆર સાખ

૧ વીકજી જમસેદ શાખ

૧ આ રાણુજી મેહરજી સાખ

૧ આ. નુસેરવાંત જમસેદજી સાખ

૧ સે.૧૧ નાહનજી કચેઆ સાખ

૧ આ ખુરસેદ ચંદના સાખ

૧ મેહરજી ચાંદણા સાખ

૧ આ. કિરસાસ મિહરજી શાખ

૧ ચાંદજી શેહરીઆર શાખ 53

53 અરજપુત, Arab Breadth, and length. મરવાદ. A street still exists in the Navsāri Motā Faliā which is called મરવાડ, and મરાવાડ, is a surname there, which is said to be derived from મરા, young lemon trees, by growing which and their fruit, these people are said to have made a living. cf. મરવે a small unripe mango. But મરવાડ may possibly be મરડવાડ as મરડીઆ means "one who makes and sells wristlets". Beisāre quotes,

આતરાના દાદે મરડીઆ જમાડયા
ચુડીલા કાઠ ખુ સારારે

Many Parsis were in the old days famous workers in wood and ivory, of which the *Chudas* of Hindu women were then and are still made, and the nickname of the Kadmis (Chudigar) owes its origin to the fact that one of the earliest followers of that sect made a living by this trade. "They (the Parsis) work well," says Hamilton, "in ivory and agate, and are excellent cabinet makers." A New Account of the East Indies. I. 161.

કુ Arab. *Qat'a*, a piece.

કેણુ i e., કેહેણુ, from કેહણુ, saying, statement.

કેણુ કેરીઅત : Dispute; why and how; Arab, *Kaifiyat*, from *Kaifa*—how.

In the [Vikram] Samvat year 1697, Roz (day) Mihr, Māh (month) Tīr, here in Nāgmandal (Navsāri) when the Pādshāh Shri Shāh-jehān was reigning triumphantly and the executive authority (*Amal*) was in the hands of * * Nawāb Shri Mājulmaluk,⁵⁴ and the Shiqdār was Mehtā Shri Vanārasidās and with the consent or cognizance of a body of five persons of good family (or scribes).

To A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād from Vu[hra] Shāpūr Jamsed and Vu[hra-Dhanji Jamsed and Vu[hra] Nādhilā Jamsed, three brothers, who have jointly and unanimously given this in their own handwriting. To wit, we were at variance about the land belonging to our ancestors, which was in the possession of A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād. A[dhyārū] Mehrji Chāndnā and A[dhyārū] Nushervān Jamshed and A[dhyārū] Hormaj Asā and A[dhyārū] Nauroz Hamjiār, these four, have decided after consulting together (*lit.* sitting together), that 25 Changiz—Khāni Chhāpris should be paid [by Mahrnosh Kaikobād to us]. The length and breadth of this land : the length is 10, ten gaz, the breadth is 22, twenty-two gaz. The details concerning this piece of land are as under. Part I, which belonged to Vu[hra] Pāhlan Asā was given in gift [by him] to A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād; Part II, which was Vu[hra] Mahiār's and Vu[hra] Mobad's ; Part III, which was Jamshed Padam's and had fallen to the share of my father's grandmother. To all these, we had laid claim and these four persons settled the dispute. Hereafter, we have no claim against A[dhyārū] Mehernosh Kaikobād. None of the three brothers has any claim against him. We have taken 25 twenty-five *Chhāpris* in cash and in lieu of that [sum of] money, have sold 10 ten gaz of land for as long as the moon endures. The four boundaries of this piece of land are as under. On the East Marur Wād, on the West [the property of] A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād; on the North, the public thoroughfare; on the South, the piece [of land] once belonging to the Butcher

54 This Muizz-ul-Mulk was first appointed *Mutasaddi* or Civil Governor of Surat in 1048 A. H. (1638-9 A.C.) *Alif-i-Ahmadī*, Bombay Lithograph A. H. 1307, Part I. 223. He was made Diwān of Gujarāt in 1053 A. H. (Ibid. 231-32), and was again appointed *Mutasaddi* of Surat as well as of Cambay in 1057 A. H. (1647 A. C.). Ibid. 235.

(*Qasṭ*) bought by A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād from the widow of A[dhyārū] Padam Chāndnā. This piece of land, with all its four boundaries, we, three brothers, have sold to A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād for ever, (*lit.* as long as the moon endures.) This fact is beyond cavil or dispute. This agreement (*lit.* writing) is to be observed.

Here the signatories.

Vu[hrā] Sāpur Jamsed.

Vu[hra] Dhanji Jamsed.

Nandhlā.

Twenty-five *Mamūdis*⁵⁵

have come to hand. We have no claim whatever against A[dhyārū] Mahrnosh Kaikobād.

Here the Witnesses

A[dhyārū] Ardvān Suhrāb, witness.

A[dhyārū] Hormaj son of Asā.

A[dhyārū] Jamsed Rānji, witness.

Hosang Narsang, witness.

Bihrām She[th] Kayyā, witness.

A[dhyārū] Nivroj Hamjiār, witness.

Vikji Jamshed, witness.

A[dhyārū] Rānji Meherji, witness.

A[dhyārū] Nusarvān Zamsedji,
witness.

She[th] Nāhnji Kayyā, witness.

A[dhyārū] Khursed Chāndnā.
witness.

Meherji Chāndnā, witness.

A[dhyārū] Kersās Meherji, witness ⁵⁵

Chāndji Shahiriār, witness.

We now come to the second class of documents. The earliest of these is dated 1603 V. S. (1552 A. C.) and is really the sequel of the agreement of 1599 V. S., (1543 A. C.) which is mentioned in the *Pārsi Prākāśh* (p. 8). It appears that the old understanding as to the division of the "Panthaks;" continued to be maintained intact even after the arrival of the Surjārī priests in Navsārī. According to the traditional covenant (of which the *first* authentic mention is found in the document of 1599 V. S. 1543 A. C.), the

⁵⁵ This clearly shows that *Cākapris* and *Mamūdis* are identical.

Bhagariās were entitled to perform all religious ceremonies in the district between the River **Pār** near **Bulsār**, and the River of **Variāv** near **Surat**, while it was the privilege of the **Sanjānās** to minister to the spiritual wants of the Zoroastrians who were settled between the river **Dantorā** near **Dāhnū** and that same river **Pār** near **Bulsār**.⁵⁶ The town of **Damaun** was consequently included in the **Sānjānā** jurisdiction and a priest of that family named **Nāgoj Dhayyān** had been sent in V. S. 1599 as their vicar or deputy on condition of remitting to the General Fund, a **Tankā** and a half for every marriage performed by him. This man appears to have "given up the benefice" and resigned his charge of his own freewill, after some years. The present document informs us that another priest, named **Jāl Kāmdin**⁵⁷ was consequently sent to **Damaun**, on condition of paying 12 **Fadiyās** for every marriage ceremony performed by him in **Damaun** as well as *Sanjān* itself. Here again, we find those **Fadiyās** mentioned which we have encountered in the Persian documents of 923 A. H. (1527 A. C.) and 952 A. H. 1545 A. C. and in the *Mirāt-i-Sikandari*. It further appears from this paper that **Tārāpore** and even **Manori**⁵⁸ had a **Parsi** population at this time and that they also were included in the *Sanjānā Panthakē*.

જાત આ નાશુજ ધધકે દમણુથી આંપણુસી રાજ્યે જીડી આએકે પછી અંજમનિ આ જાત કિઆમદીન દમણુ સારણુ સારવા મુકદએકે જે કાંઇ અધીમાહિ લખિગ્રહિ તે કર સહિ

સંવત ૧૬૦૮ અકરિત વર્ષે માહ અર્મિદદિ રો. અંદામદે પરકિગે તે આપનુ જાએ.
 વેવાન. વચણુ એક ૧ વેવાન દીગે ૧૨) ૬ આર સાદાં (!) આપનુ જામે. સંવત્શુનાં

56 *Parsi Prabāksh*, 18-19, note, quoting Dastur Erachji Sohrābji Meherji Rānā's *Rūkhār-i-Din-i-Zarthoshti*, p. 229.

57 The name of **Jāl Kāmdin** occurs in the Revāyet of **Kāus Kāmdin**. (A.V. 922.) A. C. 1552. My Revāyet Ms. folio. 212 b. A copy of a Pāzand Gujarātī *Mainyō Khrīad* transcribed by him at **Damaun** in 1610 V. S. (1554 A. C.) is still extant, and its corrupt Sanscrit Colophon may be seen in **Tehmuras's** edition of that work or in **Shahriārjī's** **Neriosengh's** Sanscrit Writings. Part III. 48-49.

58 **Manori** is a village in **Salsette**, **Thana** district, five miles west of **Borivli** station. **Bombay Gazetteer**, **Thana**, XIV, 229.

તા. દમણનાં વેહવા તા. ધધણાંનાં આપતુ જાએ સહી જે સારિ તે આપિ સંજાણાંનાં આ. જીવુ હદ તારાપુર લગિ સરિ તા. મણોરિનાં વેહવા તા. ધધણુ તા. આજંગાંને તે આ રાંજી સારિ તેહનાં દિઆં ૧૨) ૬ વે ૧ તા. ધ. ૧ ના આપિ મણોરી પંથક માંહિની બાળધણું આ. જીવુ લીએ જીવુ સારિ સહી.⁵⁹

Whereas, A[dhyāru] Nāgoj Dhayyān has come away from Daman of his own free will, the Anjuman has sent to Daman, for the performance of Ceremonies, A[dhyāru] Jāl Kāmdin [who has declared], "I will act according to what is written in this bond."

Whatever was settled on Roz (day) Spendārmad, Māh (month) Amērdād, Vikram Samvat year 1608, Eighth, he shall continue to pay. For every *Vehvā* (marriage with a virgin) and for every *Ghagharnā* (marriage between a widower and a widow), he shall pay 12, twelve Fadiyās *Sādhān* (?). He shall pay for all the *Vehvās* and *Ghagharnās* celebrated in Sanjān and Daman. Whosoever performs the ceremony shall pay the same. A[dhyāru] Jivā of the Sanjānā [family] shall perform all the ceremonies upto the boundaries of Tārāpore, while the *Vehvās*, *Ghagharnās* and *Afringāns* of Manori shall be celebrated by A[dhyāru] Rānā, for which also he shall pay 12 Fadiyās for every *Vehvā* and *Ghagharnā*. The fee for muttering the *Bāj* in Manori shall be taken by A[dhyāru] Jivā. Jivā shall perform the ceremony. So it is settled (*Sahih*).

An agreement made by the Anjuman of Navsāri in 1655 V. S. (1599 A. C.) next demands our notice. It would appear that the officiating priests were occasionally in the habit of taking more than their fair share of *Daruns*, *Polis*, eggs and other things which had been brought for consecration to the *Agiārī*. A meeting

59 સારણું સારવા, cf આશિવાદ સારવા, ગેહસારવા : *c.* ગાઇને ભણવા. Many of the Parsi prayers appear, in ancient times, to have been *chanted* in a certain way, of which the knowledge is lost. Some of the oldest pieces are demonstrably metrical. *He ce*, સારણું સારવા-means 'performing religious ceremonies, like those relating to marriage and the recitation of the Gāhās after death. પરકિડ. settled, fixed, cf પેઠવું; પેઠણું, agreement contract. ધધણણું; મણણું is used even now among Parsis for marriages between widows and widowers. ધધણુ. The remarriage of a widow, Sans ધધણુ-a husband; (l'oiseau). વિધવા, is a woman without a ધધણ or husband; cf Apte, Sanscrit Dictionary, who quotes the definition विगतो धनो य स्याः स्या.

of the Anjuman (in which the Behdins do not seem to have been included) was consequently held and it was decided that whosoever took more than a certain minimum, should be liable to punishment. A clause is also added to the effect that all business relating to the *Agiārī* should be done under the direction of Hirji Meherji, and in the latter's absence, "of the other son" of Dastur Meherji Rānā. We know that Meherji Rānā who had been recognized as Dastur in 1579 and 1580 A. C. left three sons, Kaikobād, Hirji and Behrām and that Kaikobād was his acknowledged successor. How then are we to account for this arrangement? The explanation is that Dastur Kaikobād was a person who had more than one iron in the fire and was probably at Lāhore or Agrā at this time, about some business relating to his Jāgir. It was evidently necessary to make some provisional arrangement during his absence, and the manner in which it was made shows that the hereditary right of the family of Meherji Rānā was already so firmly established that there was no thought of choosing the absent Dastur's *locumtenens* except from among his brothers.

The document is further interesting for the reason that the famous Dastur Hoshang Āsā—the guide and preceptor or the author of the *Qisseh-i-Sanjāh*,—has attached to it his signature and added the words—"Settled in our presence," words which testify to his eminent position as well as to his having subscribed to the temporary arrangement of behalf of himself and the Sanjānā section, of which he was the leader.

શ્રી અંજમન નુશારીનાં જોગ લા. શમસ્ત એરવદ એશી કરાર એહવું દીધું જે જે બગર વાંટે બાજ ધરનારનૂ બાજ ધરણૂ આપા પૂઠિ વાંટનાર પોતાનુ મુઘન રોટી ૫) પાચ તા પોલી ૫) પાંચ દરૂન તથા ૩૨) બત્રીશ કરોલ ૨) એ તા બિદાં ૨) બિ એટલ લીએ એથી અધકૂ લીએ તે અંજમનનુ ગુનાહગાર બીજૂ બાજ ધરાએઆ પાપિ ફરશસ્ત પરથી કાંઈ ઉતારે નહી અને વાંટિ નહી જે વાર ચાશનીનુ ફરણુ આપિ અને પંતિઆલાંનિ ચાશની મુકિ તા અમશી ચાશની લીએ તે વરાંએ વાંનાં ૧૫) પંનર મશકતનાં લીએ એ વરાંએ અધકૂ નહી લીએ રોજ ખુરશેદ માહ દએ શંવત ૧૬૫૫ વરખે. બીજૂ અગીઆરી સંમદીઈ કાજ કાંમ હુએ તે દસ્તૂર શ્રી મિહલ વાહાનાં એહુ

એરવદ હીરજીને પૂછી કાંમ કરિ જીઓ હીરજી હાજર નહી હુએ તુ ખીળ બેટાનિ પૂછી
કરિશ્વહી. રોજ ખુરશેદ માહ દએ સં ૧૬૫૫ વરખે.^{૬૦}

૧ હોશંગ આશા શાખ અહમો હજુર ૧ લા તુસેરવાં આસદૈન સાખ

પરહિં

૧ લા મોવદ સાએર સાખ

૧ ઓ હીરજી મહિરજી.

૧ આ જોશંગ રાંજીજી સાખ

૧ લા. ચાંદા પાહાલજી

૧ સહેરીઆર ચાંદ્યા સાખ

૧ લા બેહરાંમ ફરેદુન

૧ ફૂકા માણુંક શાખ

૧ લા પદમ રસ્તમ.

૧ લખતમ અ. ધરપાલ કાંમદીન સાખ

૧ લાં ચાંદણાં સાપૂર સાખ

૧. ક ૧૧ ચાંદા અ કાંમદીન ધનપાલ સાખિ

૧ પેશીતન જીવા

૧ આ. ખુરશેદ બહિરાંમ

૧ સહીઆર હોસંગ

૧ આદર રાંણાં

To the Anjuman Shri of Navsāri. From all the assembled priests, who have agreed at a sitting [to the following]. Whosoever allots the shares of the *Bhagar* shall, after giving his due to the holder of the *Bāj*, take, as his fixed share only 5, five, breads 5, five *polis*, 32, thirty two *Daruns*, and 2, two plantains (*Karole* ?). Thus much only shall he take and whosoever takes more shall be [punishable as] an offender by the Anjuman. No one shall take away anything from the *Frasast* ⁶¹

60 મુદ્દન Arab. *Mu'ayyan*, fixed, settled allowance

ફરોલ, perhaps from the Sanscrit कदलि, plantain ? Or perhaps ફરોલ, fruit (?)
પાખી—i.e. પછી, Sans. પश्चात्, after.

મશક્ત Arab. *Mushaqqat*, Trouble, labour. Of these two documents, viz., those of V. S. 1608 and V. S. 1655, I possess, not the originals, but *old copies* only.

61 "A *Frasast* is a sacred cake marked on the upper side with nine superficial cuts (in three rows of three each) made with a finger-nail while repeating the words *Humat, Huksht Huvarshī*, 'well-thought, well-spoken, well-done', thrice, one word to each of the nine cuts. It is placed before the consecrating priest, but to his right, while the ordinary sacred cakes are to his left (See Haug's *Essays*, pp. 396, 407, 408)". West, S. B. E. XXIV, 352 note 2.

after the *Baj* is muttered. When the *Daruns* for the *Chashni* arrive and the general *Chashni* ceremony has been gone through, he (the performer of that ceremony), should take, besides his [customary] share of the *Chashni*, only 15 things (*Laruns*) for his labour, but he shall take nothing more. Roz (day) Khurshed, Māh (month), Dai [Vikram] Samvat year (1655)

Secondly, if there is any business relating to the *Agiaari*, it must be done after asking [for orders] from Dastūr *Shri* Meherji Wāchchā's son Ervad Hirji. If E[rvad] Hirjee is not present, the other brother should be asked [for orders] before it is done.

Roz (day) Khurshed, Māh (month) Dai [Vikram] Samvat year 1655.

Hoshang Ashā, Witness.⁶²

Setteled in our presence.

E[rvad] Hirji Meherji.

Written by me Chāndā Pāhlan.

Written by me Bahrām Faredun.

Written by me, Padam Rustam.

Written by me, A[dhyāru]

Written by me Nuserwān Āsdin
witness.

Dharpāl Kāmdin, witness.

Written by me, Movad Sāyer

Written by me, Chāndnā Sāpur,

witness.

Witness.

A[dhyāru] Jaishang Rānji, witness.

Written by me, Chāndā

Shahriyār Chāyyān, witness.

A[dhyāru] Kāmdin Dhanpāl,

Kukā Mānek, witness.

witness.

62 The leading Signatory of this agreement is Dastur Hoshang Āsā, the lineal descendant of Khurshed Kāmdin Sanjānā of the *Qissah-i-Sanjān* whose preeminent position in the community after the death of Meherji Rānā in 1591 A. C. (*Parsi Prakash*, 9) I have pointed out *ante* (pp. 85-87). It has been seen that he was one of the four notables to whom the letter brought by Faridun Marzbān from Persia was addressed. He takes the place of honour not only here, but also in the Revāyet of Kāus Māhyā, (970 A.Y. 1601 A.C.), evidently in consideration of his great age, ancient lineage and learning. *Parsi Prakash* 839; My Revāyet Ms. folio 1; M. R. Unwallā's. Lithograph II. 451.

Peshitan Jivā.

A[dhyāru] Khurshed Bahirām.

Sahiyār Hoshang.

Adar Rānā⁶³.

A letter addressed by the priests of Surat in V.S. 1706 (1650 A.C.) to Dastūr Mahrnush Kaikobād is the next writing that arrests our attention. The exceedingly respectful tone of the epistle and the high encomiums bestowed upon their correspondent, show that Navsāri was, at that time, regarded by Pārsis in every part of India as the religious Capital of Indian Zoroastrianism, and that its Dastūr was acknowledged, even by the chief priests of other Panthaks, to possess an authority and prestige superior to that enjoyed by the local leader of any other congregation. This was probably due, in some measure, to the fame and reputation acquired by Dastūr Meherji Rānā, but the location in that town of the only Ātash-Bahrām then existing in India had, we may be sure, not a little to do with it also. At any rate it is certain that devout Zoroastrians from all parts of the country were accustomed to visit the place, for the purpose of laying their offerings before the Irānshāh. It happened that a famous Pārsi of those times—Hirji Wācchā Mody or Gāndhi, to whom we are indebted for the

- 63 The names of Padam Rustam, Dharpāl Kāmdin, Chāndnā Kāmdin Dhanpāl, Nusher-wān Āsdim and Movad Sāyer occur in both the documents of 1579 and 1580 A. C. about giving the Dasturship to Meherji Rānā, Mody. *Op. Cit.* 147-151. Those of Bahrām Faridūn (died 1622, *Parsi Prakash*, p. 11), Peshotan Jivā, and Adar Rānā occur in that of A. C. 1580 only.

Naushirwān Āsdim was the son of the learned and laborious scribe Āsdim Kākā, and must have lived to a great age, as his name occurs not only in the two papers of 1579 and 1580 A.C., but in the *Revāyet-e-Kāus Mahyār* of 970 A.Y. (1601 A.C.), and of Bahman Aspandiyār 995 A.Y. (1626-7 A.C.) *Parsi Prakash*. 839, 11, 13 and M. R. Unwāllā's Lithograph of Dārāb Hormazdyār's *Revāyet*, II. 451, 149, 158. He has witnessed, besides, a saledēed of 1667 V. S. (1611 A.C.) which will be found further on in this paper.

first Tower of Silence erected in Bombay Town and Island⁶⁴, went to Navsāri for that purpose, accompanied by several priests from the city of his birth-Surat. While there, he was given to understand by the Sanjānā brotherhood that within the precincts of *their* Ātash-Bahrām, no other priests were entitled to receive any Āshodād or gifts whatever, from the laity. Hirji Wācchā acted accordingly, and the Surat priests got nothing. They were, however, determined to establish their rights, and after returning to their homes, they waited in a body upon Hirji and proved to his satisfaction that the Sanjānās' sole right to Āshodād was restricted by custom, to the two months of Ardibehesht and Ādar, and that as the visit in question had not taken place in either of those months, they were entitled to receive the customary gift of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Faddiahs* per head. This sum was cheerfully given by the devout layman to every one of them, and twenty *Dokdās* were given in addition, for the High-priest of Navsāri himself, which were forwarded to him with this letter and many apologies. In this lengthy epistle, we have an ancient example of the pertinacity with which the Athornāns have always fought even for the most trifling and insignificant of their perquisites and privileges. The paltry sums given as Āshodād to all parties- $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Faddiahs* and 20 *Dokdās*-are further instructive as illustrating the comparative poverty of both priests and laymen.

૭જા સવત શ્રી નુસારી અસથાનાત પુઝા રોધે તમેાતમ પરમ પુઝા અરચનીઆન મહીન માજદીઅસની ગોજદીન (?) પાક દીન ઇઅિઆની પરોપગારી પચધિકેઆ કોસલ નેકનામ દીનવત રાંજમાંન પુઝમાંન દસતુર શ્રી ૭ મેરનોસજી ગુરથમાંની કેક-આદ દંનદંન અધૈકેપરતાપર તેજસી એતાનપૂક્રીસ (?) આ સમસત સુરતના કેન પના ઇઅિબદાં આદ વચ્ચળુ અપરમ ખી.૧ આં વુગ શ્રી ૫ હીરજી વાજનુ સાથ નુસારી આતસની દરધા આવેઆ હતા તેને સંજાણુએ કહેઉ ઝે અના સુરતનાનુ નહી લાગતુ તે વાતપર બેહેદીને અમાર હક નહી આપેઉ કહેઉ ઝે સુરત બાઇને પુછી આપસુ તે વાત પર અમેા વુગ શ્રી ૫ હીરજી વાજને ધર અમેા અના સમત ગીઆ પછી વુગ શ્રી ૫ હીરજી વાજની ખાતરનીસંન થાઈ બગ બેહેદીન ખીઆને પુછેઉ

તેણાંબી કહેઉ જે એતું હક માસ અરદીબેહેસ્ત તથા માહા આદર સુઆંગ લાગેછ તે વાર પછી આસાંમી એકના ફદીઆં ૨૥ અઢી ભરીને આપેઆં તમારા દોકડા વીસ ૨૦ મોકલેઆ છે તે લેજી પુતા લખજો બેદખી માફ કરજી અમોસ સરખુ કાંમકાજ લખજો સમત ૧૭૦૬ વરખે માહ આદર રોઝ અનેરાં.

લાં સેવક આ ફૂકા આશાતું પના યજદાં બાદ પગ લગી કહિઉછિ

લાં સેવક આ અછે અસપંદીઆરતું પના ઇઅજદાં બાદ પગલાગી કહેઉછિ હમકાર સમસતને દુઆ સલામ કેજી.

લાં પાવખાક કફસબરદાર આ રસતમ પેસીતનં સદહજર આફરીન પનાહા ઇઅજદાં બાદ વાંચજો.⁶⁵

65 સવત etc. *i.e.* સ્વસ્તિ શ્રી નવસારી સ્થાનાત પૂજારાધ્યે ઉત્તમોત્તમ પરમપૂજ્ય.

પૂજારાધ્યે. A term of address in letters. Worshipful. (Belsāre); પૂજવાને, માન આપવાને ગ્રાંથ. (*Narma Kōsh.*) અરચનીઆં, Sans. **અર્ચ**, to worship : **અર્ચનીય** adorable, worshipful. But it may just possibly be the Persian word *Arzāniyān*, અરજનીયાં, which is used in the Gujarāṭī *Sitāvar Nāmeh* of Rustam Peshotan, and is said in the Glossary at the end of Ervad Tehmuras's Edition, to mean લાયક સિદ્ધે, worthy people.

કેન પનાહ યજદાં બાદ વંચજી : કેજી message. પનાહે યજદાં બાદ, May the Lord's Protection be [over you]. It has been suggested that the correct reading is કેબ પનાહે યજદાંબાદ, but the emendation is not at all necessary. In the Petitions addressed by the Sanjānā priests to Gangājī Bāvā (Gāikwād), we read અમો સંજાણા અથેઆરના કેન શ્રી રામ રામ વીનતી કરી વીનવેઆ છે. Six of the other signatories use the expression, કેન શ્રી રામ રામ વાંચજે, along with their own names. *Khergām ni Agiürinā Kaseno Report*, pp. 109-111. In a letter written by the Anjuman of Navsāri to the Behdins of Div in V.S. 1797, we have the phrase કેન આફરીન બાદ વાંચજે. It is obvious that કેબ આફરીન બાદ would be nonsense in Persian.

ગોઅદીન *i.e.* ઘોષ દોન—Voice, mouthpiece. Sans. **घोष**, which also means herdsman. (Monier Williams.) પંચધિકેઆ ફોસલ means perhaps **પંચાધિક કૌશલ્ય (?)**

ગુરથમાન Belsāre derives this Parsi word from the Sanscrit, ગુરથમાન, being composed, or written, from ગુ-થ to write, and says it means, “deceased, dead.” The meaning is correct, the etymology erroneous. The word is really derived from the Pahlavi *Garōdmān*, *lit.* the abode of song, which is the highest heaven, the dwelling of Aūharmazd. West, Pahlavi Texts. S. B. E. V. 294 n.

દંન દંન etc.—**દિન દિન અધિક પ્રતાપ તેજસઃ** **एतां प्रति.** સમત,—સમેત with, together with.

સુઆંગ *i.e.* સ્વ+અંગ, personal, peculiar to oneself. પાવ ખાક. [I humble as] the dust of your feet; Persian, *Khāk-i-Pāi*;

કફસ બરદાર Pers. *Kafsh*—shoe, *Bardār*, bearer.

May it be well ! To the worthy of respect and adoration, most excellent, exceedingly worshipful and adorable (*or* worthy) leader of the Mazdyasnāns, Voice (Shepherd ?) of the Religion (?) and pure faith of Yazdān, (?)—beneficent, master of more than five accomplishments, renowned, religious, honoured by kings and adored, Dastūr Shri 7 Mahrnoshji son of Kaikobādji, (who is in Heaven)—of the town (*lit.* place) of Navsāri, may whose glory increase day after day. We had accompanied Vu [hrā] Shri 5 Hirji Wācchā to Navsāri, during his visit to the Firetemple. The Sanjānās told him that the A[dhyārus] of Surat had nothing to do therewith (*i.e.*, were not entitled to receive any Āshodād in a Panthak other than their own). Relying on that, the Behdin [Hirji Wācchā] did not give us our due and said that he would do so after making inquiries at Surat. Consequently, we went to the house of Vu[hrā] Shri 5 Hirji Wācchā accompanied by all A[dhyārus of the town.] Then Vu[hrā] Shri 5 Hirji Wācchā was convinced and he asked other Behdins, who also told him that their (*i.e.*, the Sanjānās') sole right [to Āshodād] was restricted to the months of Ardibehesht and Ādar. Then he gave [Āshodād] to all at the rate of $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Faddūhs* per head. Your [Āshodād of] 20 *Dok-dāhs* is sent herewith, which please acknowledge. Excuse any discourtesy [of which we may have been unconsciously guilty]. And write whenever there is any occasion for our services. [Vikram] Samvat year 1706, Roz (day) Anirān, Māh (month) Ādar.

Written by me, the Servant, A[dhyāru] Kukā Asā who sends his *Panūh-i-Yazdān būd* ("God's blessing with you,") on his bended knees.

Written by me, A[dhyāru] Acchē⁶⁶ "Aspandiār who sends his *Panūh-i-Yazdān būd*, (God's blessing with you,") on his bended knees. Give my respects and compliments to all the priests assembled.

66 This strange name is probably from the Hindustani *Accha*, 'good.' A Shaikh Acchē is mentioned in the *Tūruk-i-Jehāngiri* as having been killed under Shujā'at Khān in Bengal. Rogers and Beveridge. Trans. I. 209. Blochmann, Āin-i-Akbari, Tr.I. 521 note. The name of the Nawāb of Surat in 1759 A. C. was Miyyān Acchan. Narbadāshanker Lālshanker—*Narnagadya*, 225-6.

Written by me, [the humble as] the dust of your feet, the bearer of your shoes, A[dhyāru] Rastam Peshotan who sends a hundred thousand Greetings and *Panāh-i-Yazdān bad* ("God's blessings") to you.⁶⁷

The latest of this group of papers is dated 1797 V. S. (1740 A. C.), and is a letter addressed by the Anjuman of Navsāri to the Behdins or laymen of the island of Div, which appears, for some unexplained reason, to have been always included in the Panthak of Navsāri. It is common knowledge that the relations between the Sanjānās and Bhagariās were about this time exceedingly strained, and the history of the quarrel and the removal of the Irānshāh from Navsāri to Bulsār and ultimately to Udwarā is told at length in the *Pārsi Prakāsh*. It appears that a Sānjānā priest had, some time before the date of this letter, found his way to that distant island. Upon this, the Bhagariās sent there a priest of the family of Dāji and followed it up with a strong letter of recommendation urging them to utterly discard and disown the Sanjānā and employ the Bhagariā only. The letter contains the autograph signatures of several eminent Parsis of the eighteenth century, Dastur Jāmāsp Asā, Desāi Khurshedji Tehmulji, Desāi Mānekji Jivanji (Polā) and of several others.—

શ્રદ્ધ શોભાગ નેકનાંમ દીનદોસ્ત શમસ્ત મેહેદીન શ્રી દીવ બદરનાં વો.શ્રી પ કુબરજી
શુન પદમજી તથા વોા શ્રી પ માંણુકજી શુા ખોરશેદજી તથા વોા શ્રી પ રાંમાં વોરા
શુા મેહરજી તથા વોા શ્રી પ દારાબજી શુ. લીબાજી તથા વોા શ્રી પ. કડવાજી શુા ફકીરજી
દીન દીન દુલત જીઆદત લા શ્રી નુશારીનાં શ્રી અંબૂમન અધેઆર વડી દરેમહરનાં
કેન આફરીન બાદ વાંચળે, જત આંહાં શ્રી દાદારની મેહેરબાનીથી ખેરખુખી છે. તમારી

67 This was probably Ervad Rustam Peshotan—the first Pārsi poet of any note, and the author of the *Guarāti Siāvaṣ Nāmeh* in verse, which has been published by Ervad Tehmuras. Anklesariā, and of a *Zartosht Nāmeh* which is still in Manuscript, but which commences with a long eulogy of this very Mody Hirji Wācchā. *Pārsi Prakāsh* 17 and note. The name of Rustam Peshotan occurs in the *Revāyets* of 1037 A. Y. (1668 A. C.) and of 1039 A. Y. (1670 A. C.), and also in a letter of remonstrance addressed in 1053 A. Y. (1683 A. C.) by the Anjuman of Surat to the Sanjānā priests of Navsāri about the pretensions the latter had then advanced to performing *Bāj Darun* in Navsāri, contrary to the established usage. *Pārsi Prakāsh*. 16 and 844—5.

ખેરીઅત જમીઅતનાં કાગળ ધણું દાડ થયા આવા નથી તે શંભારી લખજો. ખી. અધારે રસ્તમજી આ બહમનજીને અમો અંજૂમને શ્રી દીવ મોકલાછે તેહોએ આજ સુધી શરવ કાંમ કાજ શ્રી દરેમહેરમાં હમકારો પાશ કરાવેઆં છે ને જે શેઆવ શરોશ વેહવા વગેરેનાં લવાજમ જે અંજૂમનનુ હક છે તે આજ સુધી અમોને પોઆડેઉ છે વાશતે તમો તમામ અંજૂમન પોતાની ખાતરજમે શાયે એ અધારે પાસ પોતાનું કાંમકાજ ધરમનુ શરવ કરાવજો. એ વાતની અમારી નીશાં છે અમો અંજૂમન શરવ મલી એહોને મોકલાઆછે ખી. અધેઆરે શોરાબ જાંભાસ શંઝાણો છે તેને કાંઈ પોચતુ નથી તે પાસે જનાર કાંમ કરાવશો માં એ અધારેનું કહીજી કાંઈ માંનશો માં તમે દાના છોઉ તો જુઆદે સુ લખુ એ ત્રદ શરખુ કાંમ કાજ લખજો ને આજ પછી જે કાંમ શેઆવ શરોશનુ કાંમ જે હોએ તે અધારે શોરાબજી બહમનજી દાજીને શોદ્રજો ને તે શંઝાણુંતુ વીશવાશ મો કરતા અંને એ અધેઆરે શંઝાણુંએ આગલ પંથકમાં કાંમ કીધું હોએ તે અમાને પોહોતુ નથી. તે લેખજો જે અમો તેને પાશથી લેજી તથા તમારાં મુઆ જીવતાનાં કામ જે તમો કરાવુ તે શરવ અમારી દરેમરમાં શરવ કાંમ કીધુછે ને વલી જે કાંમ હોએ તે લખજો તા. એ અધારે ને મોકલાછે તે પાશ કામ જે હોએ તે કેજો ને વલી જે કાંઈ કાંમ કાજ હોએ તે લખતા રેજો

શંવત ૧૭૯૬ વરખે રોજ રશને માહા અમરદાદે લખુ તે શહી.

લા. જમશેદ દરતર રસ્તમજીની દોઆ વાંચજો

- ૧ દુઆગો એ. બરજો ગ્રો. દસ્તૂર દારાબજીની દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ આ. ફૂકાજી મેહેરજીભાઇ દેસાઈની દોહા દોઆ વાંચજો. લખેઉ તે સહી
- ૧ કમત્રીન એ. જામશાપ આશાજીતુ દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ દુઆગો એ. માંણુક ગ. પાલજીજીની દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ આ. રતન માંણુકજી દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ કમત્રીન દુઆગો ખુરશેદ તેહમુરજીનો દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ અગ જીવનજી ગ. માંનકજીની દોસદ આફરીન બાદ વાંચજો
- ૧ આ શેહરીઆદ નોરોજજીના કેન દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ એ. સેહરીઆર રસ્તમજીની દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ આ. સુરાબ કેરસાસજીતુ દુઆ વાંચજો ઉપર લખેઆ પરમ સહી
- ૧ આ. કાઉશ હોમજીની દોઆ વાંચજો ઉપર લખેઆ પરમાંન શહી
- ૧ આ જીજી અસપંદીઆરજીનો દુઆ વાંચજો
- ૧ આ બરજો હોમજીની દુઆ વાંચજી

- ૧ આ કાઉશ દાદાજીની કેનપના વાંચળે
 ૧ આ માંણક નવરોજીનો દોઆ વાંચળે
 ૧ લા. શ્રી શમસ્ત અધાર વડી દરેમેહરનાનાં દુઆ વાંચળે શ્રી દાદાર હોરમજદ તમેને સલામ[ત] રાખે

To the ever-fortunate and renowned friends of the Religion, Behdins of the Port of Div, viz., Vo[hrā] Shri 5 Kuvarji son of Padamji (who is in Heaven), and Vo[hrā] Shri 5 Mānekji son of Khorshedji (who is in Heaven), and Vo[hrā] Shri 5 Rāmā Vohrā son of Mehrji (who is in Heaven), and Vo[hrā] Shri 5 Dārābji son of Libāji (who is in Heaven) and Vo[hrā] Shri 5 Kadvāji son of Fakirji (who is in Heaven), May whose Good Fortune increase day after day!

From the *Anjuman* of the *Adhyārus* of the Great *Daremehr* of Shri Navsāri, who send their message of greeting, (*or* praise). To wit, by the Grace of the Lord, things are here well and good. We have not for some time received any letter anent your welfare and peace. Please, therefore, write one with care. Secondly, Adhyārū Rustamji son of Bahmanji (who is in Heaven), whom we have sent to Div, has got all things (ceremonies) performed, by the *Hamkārs* of this Daremeher and has remitted to us, all those perquisites relating to *Shiāv*, *Sarosh*, and *Vehvā* which belong by right to this Anjuman.⁶⁸ Your entire Anjuman, therefore, must have no misgiving about getting all your religious ceremonies performed by that Adhyārū. We ourselves have no doubts (*or* are convinced) about it. He has been sent with the unanimous consent of us all. Again, Adhyāru Sohrāb Jāmās is a Sanjānā and is not entitled to any thing. Do not get any work (ceremony) performed by him in any case. Do not believe (*or* act according to) any thing he says. You are wise, wherefore should we

68 The *Shiav* is the dress consecrated to the departed soul. Saddar, ch. LXXXVII. West, S. B. E. XXIV, 350-352.

The ceremonial in honour of the Angel *Sraosha* is enjoined in the *Dina-i-Maino-i-Khirad*, II, 115, West, S. B. E. XXIV. 17 and *Shāyast-la-Shāyast*, XVII. 3. West, S. B. E., V. 382. *Hamkārs* are priests of the same Panthak who collaborate in religious ceremonies,

write any more? Let us know (*lit.* write) if we on this side can do any thing for you, and hereafter entrust every work (ceremony) relating to *Shiāv* and *Sarosh*, to Adhyāru Sorābji (*sic*) Bahmanji Dāji and do not place any faith in that Sanjānā. Know besides that none of our dues for the ceremonies performed by him in the Panthak on former occasions, have reached us. Write to us about [those ceremonies] so that we may demand [our share] from him. We have always performed in our *Daremeher* all those ceremonies for your dead and living relatives which you gave orders for. Write if there is any other work (ceremony) [that you want to have performed]. If you have any occasion, tell the Adhyāru whom we have sent, and also write to us when there is need.

Written in the year 1796, [Vikram] Samvat, Roz Rashne, Māh Amardād.

Written by me, Jamshed Dastur Rustamji, whose blessings, please read.

Please read the benedictions of the Utterer of blessings, [Ervad] Barjo Dastur Dārābji.

Please read the benedictions of A[dhyāru] Kukāji Meherjibhai Desāi.

Please read the benedictions of the most humble Jāmāsp Āsāji.

Written by me, E[rvad] Mānek the son of Pāhlanji (who is in Heaven), whose blessings please read.

Please read the benedictions of A[dhyāru] Ratan Mānekji.

The most humble utterer of blessings, Khurshed Tehmurji whose blessings please read.

Please read the benedictions of A[dhyāru] Jivanji son of Mānekji who is in Heaven.

E[rvad] Shahriār Naoroji, please read his message of blessings

A[dhyāru] Shehriār Rustamji, please read his blessings.

Please read the benedictions of A[dhyāru] Suhrāb Kershāsji who certifies to the above writing.

Please read the benedictions of A[dhyāru] Kāus Homji, who certifies to the above writing.

A[dhyāru] Jiji Aspandiārji, please read his blessings.

A[dhyāru] Barjo Homji, please read his blessings.

Adhyāru Kāus Dādāji, please read his message of blessings.

A[dhyāru] Mānek Navroji, please read his blessings.⁶⁹

Written by the Adhyārus assembled of the Great *Daremeher*, whose blessings please read. May the Creator Ahurmazda keep you in safety !

We now come to the third class of papers. The earliest is dated V. S. 1600 (1544 A. C.). A dispute very similar to the one between Rānā Jaisang and Nāgoj Rustam which was settled by the agreement of 1595 V. S. (1539 A. C.) appears to have arisen between two other neighbours, Vohrā Chāndā Sahiyār and Adhyārus Mihirvān Padam and Mahir Padam. It seems to have been settled by both parties agreeing to the erection of a wall or partition in the manner determined by Vohrā Chāndā, of which the cost was to be borne in equal proportions by both. The document contains the signature of at least three persons of note, Kākā Dhanpāl—the father of the learned scribe Āsḍin—and of Wācchā Pāhlan and his nephew

69 Dastur Jamshedji Rustamji Meherji Rānā was high-priest of Navsāri from 1723 to 1761 A. C. *Parsi Prakāsh*. 43.

For Dastur Barjorji Dārābji Pāhlanji see *Parsi Prakāsh*. 34 and 47.

Desāi Kukāji Meherji died in 1742 A. C. *Parsi Prakāsh*. 35. Ervad Mānek the son of Pāhlan was a brother of Dastur Dārāb Pāhlan's, and paternal uncle of the above mentioned Dastur Barjorji Dārābji.

Adhyāru Ratan Mānekji was Ratanji Mānakji Āntiā, maternal uncle of Desāi Khurshedji Tehmulji. Desāi Jivanji Manekji Poliā died in 1773 A. C. *Parsi Prakāsh*.

Khurshed Bahrām,⁷⁰ the ancestor of the Poliā Desāis. It is a question whether this Mahrivān Padam was identical with or the nephew of the Mahirvān Mahyār Padam who transcribed for Ervad Bahrām Pāhlan—the brother and uncle of two of the above witnesses—a copy of the Pāzand-Sanscrit *Mainyo Khirad*—in V. S. 1576 (1520 A. C.).⁷¹

લા. અ. મહિરવાં પદમ વુ. ચાંદ સહીઆર જોય જત ભૂમી પાછલિ ખારની
પહુ જણુ વંચમિની ખુટી ખિરની ચુટીય તે થકી વુ. ચાંદુ નેવ (?) આંમસામિ
આંમસી ગેલવિ જુ કુહિ લકારીની ભીત પાએઉ કરિ તે ખુટીથી વુ. ચાંદ સહીઆરની
પાસિ કરિ તેહનાં દોકડા અરધો અરધ વેચિ પણુ તે ભીત વાંદની માહોમાહ તરીમ
થાઇ નસ્તારેજિ સહી ભીત નાહારોજ પધી કરિ રો. આદર મા. મહિર સંવત
૧૬૦૦ વર્ષે

અત્ર મતાનિ	અત્ર શાખ
૧ અ. મહિર પદમ મતં	૧ અ. કાકા ધણુપાલ શાખ
૧ અ. મહિરવાંન પદમ મતં	૧ વુ. સેગ પોમાં સાખ
૧ વુ. ચાંદ સહીઆર મતં	૧ આસા સહીઆર સાખ
	૧ રાંમ સાખ
	૧ વાછ પાહાલણુ સાખિ
	૧ ખુરશેદ બહિરાંમ સાખ ⁷²

70 Khurshed Bahrām was the son of Bahrām Pāhlan and the great grand father of Bahrām Faridun [Kāmdin, Khurshed, Bahrām, Pāhlan], the founder of the Poliā Desai family of Navsāri. *Pārsi Prakash*. II note.

The name of Khurshed Bahrām occurs in the Toddy agreement of 1626 V. S. (1570 A. C). Mody, *Op. Cit.* 154—155.

71 West, Pahlavi Texts, S. B. E. XXIV. p. xxi.

72 આમસામી=આમણુ સામણુ—આમણુ is a reduplication of સામણુ, from સામાન્ય, from સમાન, common (Belsare). ગેલવી (ગેલવણુ), Dissolved, melted, ripened, softened. Ervad Rustam Peshotan in his Gujarātī ‘Sādvaxnāmeh’, uses the word at least twice.

ભક્ષો એ હેઇ તમે કોમ્પેનું મારા તરણુ ચેઆરનું ગેલવીલાવો પાલ,
આજ દીન રાખે આવવાના છે, તમ લઈ જવો તરતજ કાલ.

દાઇ જઇને કોમ્પનેજર જેહેર આપદી દીધું
કોમ્પે લોભાલને એ જર દઇ તેહનું પાલ ગેલવી લીધું.

Tehmuras's Edition. Shlokas, 701-702. p. 50.

વાંદાની, i.e. વાંધાની. લકારો, લકિર means a line, a streak, a thin stripe, a boundary. Belsare). લકાર, લીટી (Narmakōsh). Or is it a slip of the pen for લકારીની, લકારાની, wooden?

નાહરોજ Pers. *Naorōz*, New Year's day. The word is still generally used by the Navsāri Parsis for the Muktād or Farvardagān days preceding the New Year's day.

To Vu[hrā] Chāndā Sahiyār Writer A[dhyāru] Mahirvān Padam. To wit, the dispute about the peg of Khair wood [*Acacia Catechu*] fixed in the piece of land in the backyard, between our houses, has been mutually settled thus. Whosoever raises a boundary—wall shall get [the peg fixed] by Vu[hrā] Chāndā Sahiyār. The cost (*lit. Dokdās*) of constructing the wall shall be divided [equally] between the two neighbours, Chāndā Sahiyār and Mihirvān Padam. An understanding has been thus arrived at anent the wall and the dispute settled. The wall is to be raised after the Naoroz (New year's day). Ro[z] Ādar, Mā[h] Mahir, [Vikram] Samvat 1600.

Here the Signatories.

I A[dhyāru] Mahir Padam.

I A[dhyāru] Mahirvān Padam.

I Vu[hrā] Chāndā Sahiyār.

Here the Witnesses.

I A[dhyāru] Kākā Dhanpāl
witness.

I Vu[hrā] Sejā, witness.

I Rām, witness.

I Asā Sahiyar, witness.

I Wācchā Pāhlan, witness.

I Khurshed Bahirām, witness.

A Saledeed of 1614 V. S. (1557 A. C.) next engages our attention. I have said that one of the outstanding features of Navsāri history during the latter part of the sixteenth century is the decline of the prosperity of Chāngā Asā's descendants and relatives. Of this we have another illustration in this paper, by which a piece of land inherited by the three sons of Sheth Rānā Jāmāsp—a nephew of Chāngā's—was sold to Patel Narsang Mānak and his brother Nāgoj, for the 61 Tankās Pratābāhrā which they had jointly borrowed from the latter. This is the third deed of the kind, from which it is

possible to obtain an approximate idea of the value of agricultural land in Navsāri in the sixteenth century. We have seen that 32 Binghās of land were sold to Mānek Chāngā in 1517 A. C. (923 A. H.) for 500 Faddiāhs, equal to about seventy-six Rupees. Another piece of land of which the area is unfortunately not mentioned but which could not have been small, was sold to Meherji Rānā in 1628 V.S. (1572 A.C.) for 104 Tankās, i. e., about 63 Rupees, and we have this third instance of seven Binghās sold for 61 Tankās or about 40 Rupees. I have in my possession a long Persian Saledeed also from which it appears that four pieces land were sold to Rāna Jaisang in 941 A.H. (1534 A.C.) for eight hundred and fifty Tankās.⁷³

[૭] જા શ્રી ॥ સંવત ૧૬૧૪ ચૌદતરા વર્ષે રોજ જમીઆદ માહ ૬ ઉર્મદીન અદેહ શ્રી નાગમંડલ કહે પાદશાહ શ્રી શુલતાન અબ્દશાહ વિજરાજે અમલ શ્રી મલેક શરક મલેક ઇમાદલ મલેક રૂમી વ્યાપારે પંચકુલ પ્રતિપતૌ પટિ[લ] નરસંગ માંણુંક વ પટિલ નાગુજ માંણુંક અને ભાઇ પારસ્વાત શ્રેષ્ઠ કડુઆ રાંણાં તા. શ્રે. આઉઆ રાંણાં તા. શ્રે. ચાંઇઆં રાંણાં. એ ભાઇ ત્રણે એક આ એક મત થાઇ હસ્તક્ષિરાણી દતાની જત જીજી ટંકા પ્રતિપાહરા ટં ૬૧) અંકે ટંકા એકસઠ ટંકા એક પ્રત દોકડા સાઠ લેખિ પ. નરસંગ તા. પ. નાગુજ જોઅ શ્રે કડુઆ તા. શ્રે. આઉએ તા. શ્રે. ચાંઇએ એ જણુ ત્રણે ભાઇ મલી એકાજીત થાઇ રોક લીધા એહ ગુર્થ વડિ વાડી હજીરાની ભૂમી મધે શ્રેષ્ઠ રાણાં જામાસનુ હીસુ ભૂમી વીધાં માજની વીધાં ૭ સાત દરજીની ગજ નિવસિ મવા પ. નરસંગ માંણુંક તા. પ. નાગુ માંણુંક અને ભાઇ જોઅ શ્રે કડુઆ તા. શ્રે. આઉએ તા. શ્રે. ચાંઇએ ભાઇ ત્રણેએ એકાજી થાઇ ચંદ્ર કાલ વેચાતી આપી એહ ભુમીની ચતુર સીમા પૂર્વ સીમા નાલ સારિઆંમ પશ્ચિમ સીમા નાલ વાડી સેખજી કમાલની ઉત્તર સીમા શ્રે. ધધ્યાં રાંણાં દક્ષીણ સીમા શ્રે. આસા બહિરાંમ ભાઇ ત્રણે એવ ચતુર સીમા સમેત ચંદ્ર કાલ વેચાતી આપી જે ખજૂરાં મોટાં ડૂંઝાં છિ તે વરાયાં ચંદ્ર કાલીક વેચાતી આપી તે ભુમી પર ખજૂરાં નવસર જે ઉધરી તે તથા આંબા તથા આંબલી તથા ખેર બાવલ તથા જે રોપા નવા ઉધરિ તે એહજ ભુઈ ના ધણીના ધણીનાં સહી. ખજૂરાં મોટાં ડૂંઝાં છિ

73 This is a very long and elaborately written paper dated 19 Rabi' II. 941 A. H. It is scarcely worth translating, and its interest lies merely in the names of the purchasers, Rānā Jaisang and his son Hoshang, and of the witnesses, Āsā Bahirām, Rānā Jāmās, Mānak Rānāer and Seth Āsā Aspāl.

તી એ કડુઆ તથા એ આઉઆ તથા એ ચાંધએ બાધ ત્રણે મલેઆં ખાએ એ ખજુરાનું ત્રવાડુ તથા મથારીઉ એહ વાડીમાં આવી જાએ ડૂઝી તાં લગી. એહ જુમી ઉપર જે રોપા ઉધરિ તે પ. નરસંગ માંણુક તથા પ. નાગુજ માંણુક ધણી સહી અસલ ખત મધે પ્રપાલ ન્યાએ.

અત્ર મતાની	અત્ર શાક્ષ
૧ કડુઆ રાણા મત	૧ ફરેદુન આસા સાખ
૧ આઉઆ રાણાં મત	૧ આસા કાંમદીન શાક્ષ
૧ ચાંએઆં રાણાં મત	૧ મહિર એ. ધૈધ્યાં સાખ
	૧ આ. સાએર ખુરસેદ સાખ
	૧ હીરાચાંદા સાખ ખત પ્રમાણે
	૧ આ હમજીઆર પદમ સાખ
	૧ આઉવા ધૈઆં સાખ
	૧ ના ચાંધઆં કીકા (?) શાખ
	૧ અ કાકા શુત આસદીન શાક્ષ
	૧ આસા ખુરસેદ સાખ
	૧ ધધ્યાં આસદીન સાખ ⁷⁴

74 એપ્, i.e. રોક.

એકજુત, elsewhere written, એકાજુત, એકાજુદ; Being of one mind; cf. સમજુત, from સમ, well and જા, જાનતિ, to know; Bringing to a right or just understanding : (Belsare).

રોક, (Sans. रुक् hard), રોકડા, Hard cash.

માજની વીધા, that is, મોજણી વીધા (?) that is, Binghas of the standard adopted for purposes of land measurement in the district. મોજણી, from the Mahrāṭṭi, મોજણ (from the Arab. *Mizān*), measuring, surveying. So, મોજણીદાર, a surveyor, measurer with the cross-staff. The different values of the Binghā in different parts of the country are almost bewildering. It has varied from 4383 square yards, or only 457 yards less than an English acre, to only 284 2/9 square yards, which says Wilson, was the area of the Gujarāt Binghā. Wilson, Glossary. s. v.; Yule and Burnell, Hobson—Jobson, s. v. Beega; Prinsep, Useful Tables, pp. 88—90; Elliot, Memoirs of the Races of the North-Western Provinces of India, ed. Beames, II. 36—7. સારખામ, Arab. *Shāra a-i-ām*, public road; through fare.

નવસેર newl-grown, young ?

ત્રવાડુ i.e. તરવાડો The man who climbs palm trees and date-trees for extracting the toddy. તરવૃત્તિ from તર a tree.

મથારીઉ—મઠાવું means to smooth, to polish, to level : “When the date tree is ripe, the process of tapping begins, and it continues each year thereafter. *** When the rainy season has completely passed, and there is no more fear of rain, the cultivator cuts off the lateral leaves, from one-half of the circumference, and thus leaves bare a surface measuring about ten to twelve inches each way. The surface is at first brilliant white, but becomes on exposure quite brown, and puts on the appearance of coarse matting.*** After the tree has remained for a few days thus exposed, the tapping is performed by making a cut into this exposed surface, in the shape of a very broad V, about three inches across, and a quarter or half inch deep.” Westland, Report on the District of Jessore, 1874, quoted in G. Watt’s Dictionary of Economic Products of India, VI. pt. i. p. 210. The મથારીઉ is the man who cuts off the lateral leaves and lays bare “the surface which is at first a brilliant white.” ફેડતા. i.e. yielding milk or toddy.

Shri [7]4½.

In the [Vikram] Samvat year 1614,—[sixteen hundred and] Fourteen, Roz (day) Zamiād, Mah (month) Farvardīn, here in Nāg-mandal (Navsāri), when the Padshāh Shri Sultān Ahmad Shāh⁷⁵ was conducting the Government triumphantly, and the executive authority ('*Amal*') was with the Malik-us-Sharq Malik Imād ul-Mulk Rūmi⁷⁵ and with the consent or cognisance of a body of five persons (or scribes) of good family. To Patel Narsang Mānak, and Patel Nāgoj Mānak, both brothers. From Shraisht (*i.e.* Sheth) Kadūā Rānā, and Shrai [sht] Aūā Rānā and Shrai [sht] Chāyyān Rānā the brothers three, who being agreed and of one mind, have given this in their own handwriting. To wit, from you, Pa[tel] Narsang Mānak and Pa[tel] Nāgoj Mānak, Shrai [sht] Kadūā and Shrai [sht] Aūā and Shrai [sht] Chāyyān had jointly and unanimously borrowed 61, Sixty-one, Tankās Pratitahārās of the old [Stamp], each Tankā of the value of 60, Sixty Dokdās. In lieu of this sum, the share of Shraisht Rānā Jāmās in the garden at Hajirā, amounting to Seven Mājani Binghās nine hundred and nine (?) Tailor's *Gaz*, has been sold to you, Pa[tel] Narsang Mānak and Pa[tel] Nāgoj Mānak by Shrai [sht] Kadūā and Shrai [sht] Aūā and Shrai [sht] Chāyyān jointly and unanimously in perpetuity (*lit.* for as long as the moon endures).

The four boundaries of this land are as follows. On the East, a narrow lane [or water-channel] and the public thoroughfare; on the West, the narrow lane [or water channel] and Shaikhji Kamāl's garden; on the North, [the property of] Shrai[sht]

75 Ahmad Shāh III, Sultān of Gujarāt, ascended the throne on 15 Rabī I. 961 A. H. and was murdered on 5 Sha'abān 968 A. H. (1553—1561 A. C). *Mirāt-i Sikandari*, Fāzil Lutfullāh's Translation, 255, 289. "When the nobles divided the Kingdom of Gujarāt, among themselves," in the reign of this puppet prince, "Broach and *Surat* as far as the frontiers of Sultānpur and Nazarbār [Nandurbār], fell to the lot of '*Imād ul-Mulk Rūmi*.'" Ibid. 270. This Imād-ul-Mulk was treacherously assassinated by his brother-in-law, Khudāvand Khān Rumi at Surat on the 27th of Ramzān 966 [1559 A. C], a few months after the date of this paper. Ibid. 286.

Dhayyān Rānā; on the South, [the property of] Shrai[sht] Āsā Bahirām. This land, together with its four boundaries, the three brothers have sold in perpetuity (*lit.* for as long as the moon endures), excepting only the wild-date trees (*Khajurān*), which are already full grown. But all the young wild-date trees (*Khajūrān*) on this land and all the mango trees and tamarind trees and jujube trees and Bābūl (*Acacia Arabica*) trees, and all other plants that may be growing thereon, shall belong to the proprietor (*i.e.* the purchaser) of the land. The produce of the full grown wild-date trees (*Khajurān*) shall be enjoyed jointly by the three brothers, Shrai[sht] Kadūā and Shrai[sht] Aūā and Shrai[sht] Chāyyān. The persons who tap (*Travādu*) and smoothe (*Mathāriu*) these trees shall have free passage (*lit.* come and go). But all plants which grow hereafter on the land shall belong to Pa[tel] Narsang Mānak and Pa[tel] Nāgoj Mānak. This agreement is to be observed.

Here the Signatories.

Here the Witnesses.

Kadūā Rānā.

1 Faredun Āsā, witness.

Aūā Rānā.

1 Āsā Kāmdin, witness.

1 Chāyyān Rānā.

1 Mahr Shrai[sht] Dhayyān.

1 A[dhyāru] Sāyer Khurshed,
witness.

1 Hirā Chāndā, witness.

1 A[dhyāru] Hamjiār Padam, wit-
ness.

1 Āūā Dhayyān, witness.

1 Na (?) Chāyyān Kikā, witness.

- I A[dhyāru] Āsḍin son of Kākā,
witness.
- I Āsā Khurshed, witness.
- I Dhayyān Āsḍin, witness.⁷⁴

Then, we have another deed, recording the sale of a house to Ervad Padām Mahiyār—evidently the son of the Mihir Padam of the document of 1600 Samvat—by Bāi Pomi, wife of *Gārdi* Āsḍin and Shāpur Āsḍin, her son, in consideration of thirteen Tankās Pratābāhrā which had been borrowed some time before from the purchaser. The designation or surname of *Gārdi* which is clearly written here, arrests our attention. It is found in another document in this series—the partition deed of 1612 V. S. (1556 A. C.)—and occurs also in connection with two families, the names of whose members are found in an old '*Nāmgrahan*', and I believe it still survives among us. It is unfortunately impossible to say anything with confidence, in regard to the meaning or etymology of the word, but it may be said with truth that we have here one of the earliest examples of the occurrence of a Surname in Parsi documents of any antiquity. Indeed, it may be said that surnames were rare among the Parsees even

76 The names of two out of the three signatories of this paper, viz. of Kadūā Rānā, and of six of the witnesses, viz. Asā Kāmdin, Mahr Sheth Dhayyān, Shāyer Khurshed, Hamiā Padam, Āsḍin Kākā and Dhayyān Āsḍin occur in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin of 922 A.V. 1553 A.C. (My Revāyet MS. folio 213 a). Hamiār Padam was the grandfather of the author of the *Qissah-i-Sanjān*, and is mentioned by that writer as one of the leading Dasturs of Navsāri in his day. (*Ante*, p. 116). He was one of the Sanjāna signatories of the document of V.S. 1599 (1543 A.C.), and witnessed another also in 1626 V. S. (1570 A. C.) which is reproduced in Mody, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar*. 154—5.

Dhayyān Asḍin, was a Behdin and grandson of Chāngāshāh, who was one of the signatories of the deed by which the laymen of Navsāri bound themselves to give the Pipaliā Wādy in Inām to Dastur Meherji Rānā, in V.S. 1629 (1573 A.C.). Mody. *Op. Cit.* 156—157.

in the eighteenth century, and their use appears to have become *general* among us only in the nineteenth.

સાંવત ૧૬૩૧ વરષે રોજ ખુરસેદ માહા તીર, અદે શ્રી નાગમાંડલ કરણે પાદસાહા શ્રી જલાલદીન અકબર સાહા વજરાજે અમલ ખાંન શ્રી કલેચ માહાંમદખાંન હોદીખાંન શ્રી દરવેસ માહાંમદ[દ] વિઆપારે પાંચકુલ પ્ર[ત] પતૈ.

આ પદાંમ મહીઆર પારસુઆત બાઇ પોમી ગારડી આસદીનની ગરિસ્ત તથા વુ. સાપૂર આસદીન એ બને ભાઇ એક એકાબૂદ એકમત હસ્તાખિરાંણિ દાંતનિ જત જીરણુ ટાંકા પ્ર[ત] બાહા ૧૩ આંકે તેર પૂરા, ટાંકુ ૧ દર દોકડા ૬૦ લેખિ દેવા એ દોકડા અગરીખતનાં દેવા એન ગુરથ વડિ માહાશિરિતું ભાગ વેચાતુ આપીઉ પૂરવ સીમા પચાંમ સીમા ઉતર સીમા એવાંગ ચતુર સીમા સમેત વેચાતૂં આપીઉ આ પદાંમ મહીઆર જોગ બાઇ પોમીએ તથા વુ. સાપૂરિ ચાંદરકાલ વેચાતૂં અપીઉ એ વાતમાં કાંઇ કલકાવલ નહી. અસલ ખત મઘૈ પરપાલ નાએક.

૧ આંત્ર મતૂ	૧ તત્ર સાખ
૧ બાઇ પોમી વુ.	૧ ચાંદણાં પદાંમ સાખ
આસદીનની ગરિસ્ત મતૂ	૧ ટોઇઆ હોમ સાખ
૧ ગાં સાપૂર આસદીન મતૂ	૧ ચાંધઆં માંણુકા સાખ
	૧ શૈહાર ચાંહીયાં સાખ
	૧ કામદીન વાહાપાહાલણુ સાખ
	૧ આ બહરાંમ હોસંગ સાખ"

77 હોદી Arab. *Ohdah*--office, responsibility, but perhaps it is '*Ahadi*', of which Blochmann says' that in Akbar's time, the word meant something like our 'Warrant officer'. "Most clerks of the Imperial office, the painters of the Court, the foremen in Akbar's workshops etc. belonged to this Corps. They were called *Ahadis* or single men, because they stood under Akbar's immediate orders." *Ain-i-Akbari*, Tr. I. 20 note. Badāoni speaks of a Hāji ahammad *Ahadi*, Lowe. II. 303. And *Ahadis* seem to have been often employed on services of importance. Ib. 369.

મારડી. The word is written here, as in the Partition-deed of V.S. 1612, so clearly that there can be no doubt of its being a surname. In the partition deed dated V.S. 1612, it occurs as the surname of a man, whose house had been bought by Rānā Jaisang. The *Gādīs* were Vohrās, small traders by profession, and were Behdins or laymen.

કલકાવલ, Arab. *Qil wa Qal*. Dispute.

Qil, a word, a speech, a saying (especially in answer), *Qal* being used in the beginning of a discourse or by way of question. Richardson *Persian-Arabic-English Dictionary*.

એનાં, Sans एवम्, Thus, so, in this manner or way.

In the [Vikram] Samvat year 1631, on Roz Khurshed, Māh Tir, here in Nāgmandal (*i.e.*, Navsāri), when the Pādshāh Shri Jalā-luddin Akbar Shāh was conducting the Government triumphantly, when the executive authority (*'Amal'*) was in charge of Khān Shri Qalich Māhāmand Khān, when Khān Shri Darwesh Māhāmand Khān held office (?) and with the cognisance (or consent) of a body of five persons (or scribes) of [good] family.

To Ervād Padām Mahiyār,⁷⁸ from Bāi Pomi, wife of *Gārdi* Asdin and Vu[rā] Shāpur Āsḍin, both being of one mind and opinion, have given this in their own handwriting. To wit, we had borrowed 13, Thirteen, Tankās Pratabāhrā of the old [Stamp]—each Tankā of [the value of] 60 Dokdās. These Tankās were due by an old deed. We have now in lieu of that amount, sold our shares of our house with the boundaries thereof on the East, the West, the North and all the four sides. We, Bāi Pomi and Vu[rā] Shāpur have sold it for ever (*lit.* for as long as the moon endures) unto you, Ervad Padām Mahiyār. There is no question or dispute about this matter. [We are] for the observation of the conditions in this writing.

Bāi Pomi wife of Vuśrā.

i Chāndnā Padam, witness.

Äsding.

I Toyiyā Hom, witness.⁷⁹

78 This was probably Padam Mahyār Jaisang Dhayyān, son of the Mahyār Jaisang of the agreement of V. S. 1590. See his pedigree in the Bhagarsāth Vanshāvli, 30.

79 *Behdīn* Toyyā Hom *Nasī-i-Hirbadā'n* and his brother *Behdīn* Rānā Hom *Nasī-i-Hirbadān* are among the persons addressed in Kāus Kāmdīn's *Revāyet* of 922 A.Y. (1553 A.C.) which also mentions a *Behdīn* Bahman Khurshed, *Nizhād-i-Hirbadān*. My *Revāyet* MS. folio 212 b. These epithets are very curious and prove that in the 16th Century, the daughters of priests often married into *Behdīn* families. One of the entries in the old *Namagrahan* already mentioned, is आसि. या. चांग, पुत्री शमसि, या. चांग। अ[सि] i. e., Āsi *Behdīn* Chāngā [Asā], daughter of the Sanjānā [family], and wife of Chāngā." *Bhagarsāh Vanshvālī*, 222.

Toyyiā Hom has put his signature to an agreement for the proper performance of ceremonies which was made by the Anjuman of Navsāri in V.S. 1622 (1566 A.C.).
Mody, *Op. cit.* 151-153.

Gā[rđi] Shāpur Āsđin.

1 Chāyyān Mānkā, witness.

1 Shahiār Chāyyān, witness.

1 Kāmdin Wāchā Pāhlan,
witness.

1 A[dhyārū] Bahrām Ho-
shang, witness.

This is followed by another Saledeed, but a Saledeed of an uncommon character, for it does not purport to sell either goods or lands or houses, but incorporeal rights, as political economists call them. But "the incorporeal rights" hereby vended are not those with which we are now familiar—Copy-rights and Patent rights or Good-wills,—but the right of celebrating *Vehvās* and *Ghagharnās*, i. e., marriages with virgins as well as those which take place between widows and widowers. It appears that some priests of the family of Masāni had been obliged to borrow forty--five *Chhāpris* or Changiz Khān *Mahmūdis* from Dastūr Mahrnūsh Kaikobād for the liquidation of some debt which was owing to the State, probably for Revenue assessment. Unable to pay off the amount in cash, they were obliged to transfer to their creditor all those fees which would accrue to them from the celebration of thirty Marriages of all sorts, at the rate of one *Muhr* or *Mahmūdi* and a half per marriage. The whole transaction is a curious illustration of manners, and the document is further interesting as containing the autograph signature of Bahrām Faridūn, the founder of the power of the Polīā Desāis in Navsāri, who has attested it with a declaration confirming the sale in express terms.

સં. ૧૬૬૭ વર્ષે રોજ રાંમ માહા સહરેવર અદેહ શ્રી નાગમંડલ કંથે
પાદસાહા શ્રી અસલીમ સાહા વિજરાજે અમલવચ્ચે નવાય શ્રી અયુવલ હુસેન હવલી
ખોજા શ્રી નળમ સકદાર શ્રી મીરક માહામદ સરીફ વિઆપારે પચકુલ પ્રતપતૌ.

આ મિહિરનોસ કિક્યાદ પારસ્વાત આ કુકા બક્ષન તા નરીમાં કાકા મસાંણી તા
આ હાંસી મોવદની ધરસ્ત તા આ ચાંઈ મિહિરવાંની ધરસ્ત જ'ણુ ૪ હસ્તા
ખિરાંણી દંતાનિ જત છાપ્રી ચીગસખાંની ૪૫ અકે પસતાલીસ દીવાન ભરાવી
સંવત ૧૬૬૭ ની જન્મેની ખોટમાં ભરાવી એના વેહવા તરીસ વેચાતા આપા
પ્રથમ પ્રથમ પ્ત સં ૧૬૬૪ રો હોરમજદ માહા સહરેવર વેહવા ૨૩ વેચા હતા
તેમાં વેહવા તા ધ્યધરણાના વારા ૯ નવ પૂગા બાઇજી સાથિ બાઇજીનાં વેહવા ૧૪
હતા મજમૂ વેહવા ૫૮ અકે અકાવન બાકી રહા રોજ રોમ માા સહેરવર સં
૧૬૬૭ થી રહા વેહવા તાં જાંમનાં તા ધ્યધ્યણાં મજમૂ અકાવન ૫૮ સારી ખાએ
હિસા ૪ ના એકાજીએ એકમતા થાઇ મિહિરનોસ કિક્યાદનિ વેચાતા આપા એ
વેહવા પૂરા કરી સારી ખાએ તાં લગી કોઇ દખલ નહી કરિ ખ પાછલુંના ગીરા
પ્તય(?) હમંણાં પછી વેચે તે મિહિરનોસ આંમસા પૂરા કરી ખાએ તે વાર પછી
લીએ તે ખાએ તાં લગિ મિનિરનોસને દખલ નહી કરિ.

એ પ્ત મુર પુગિ લખાવો. એ મુર દીવાન ભરાવી.

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| ૧ અંતર મત્ | ૧ અત્ર સાખ |
| ૧ આ નરીમાં કાકા મસાંણી મત્ | ૧ લ. બિહિરાંમ ફરેદુન સાખ |
| ૧ આ કુકા બક્ષન મસાંણી મત્ | તમારા વેવા પૂરાએ તાં લગ |
| ૧ આ ચાંઈ મિહિરવાંની ધરસ્ત મત્ | બીજા કોઇ નહી લી[એ] |
| ૧ આ હાંસી મોવદની ધરસ્ત મત્ | ૧ નુસેરવાં આસદીન સાખ |
| | ૧ મહિરજી અસપદીઆર સાખ |
| | ૧ બિહિરાંમ જેસા સાખ |
| | ૧ આ કિક્યાદ અસપાલ સાખ |
| | ૧ આ બહમન હોમજી સાખ |
| | ૧ આ આ રાંજીજી ધંધ્યાં સાખ. |
| | ૧ આ કૂકા રસતમ સાખ. ⁸⁰ |

80 શકદાર—*Shiqdar* (Pers.) The Revenue Officer, Collector or Chief Financial Officer of a Province.

મુર. Pers. *Muhr*, a stamp, seal, coin. In the *Navsāri Panthak*, મોહર was used in the sense, not of a *Gold Muhr* but of a Coin worth about six ānnās.

“કાકા પાલનની પાલમાંથી હીરાદાદા, નાથા હોસંગ અને આસા રસ્તમવાલાઓને તેઓની ગેરહાજરી મા
ને બીજા લાગ્યા નાવ સારે તો એ મોહર ઇઆને ખાર આના આપવા પડે. તેમજ
પાલમાંથી બીજા લાગ્યાઓને એકેક મોહર ઇઆને ૬ આના આપવા પડે.”

R. J. Dastur, *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*, 216.

The *Muhr* is, in fact, and as is clearly implied in this document itself, identical with the *Mahmūdi* or *Changizi* (or *Chhāpī*), which was worth about 12 pence, according to Mandelslo.

Taking the Rupee as equal to two shillings three pence, the Muhr would be $= \frac{12}{27}$ of a rupee or $12/27 \times 16/1 = 6 \text{ } 10/27$ annas.

SOME PARSI-SANSKRIT COLOPHONS.

The materials for reconstructing the Mediæval history of our people are so distressingly meagre and inadequate that any hint, however insignificant or obscure, from any contemporary or real authentic source, is only too welcome. I have consequently thought it worth while to devote two papers to a somewhat minute examination of the Pahlavi and Sanskrit Colophons of the Fourteenth-century scribe Mihirāpān Kaikhusru, with the object of extracting from them the historical information that they may contain.¹ I beg to be permitted to-day to invite the attention of scholars interested on the subject to some other Sanskrit Colophons in old Parsi Codices, of which the historical significance has not been perceived, or which have been but imperfectly understood.

The practice of attaching short paragraphs, written in such Sanskrit as they could command, to Indian Manuscripts of Zoroastrian writings appears to have been adopted by Parsi scribes in imitation of the example of Neryosangh. That learned Iranist seems to have composed, for his Sanskrit versions of Avesta and Pahlavi texts, a Foreword or Introduction which is to be found, with certain obviously necessary or immaterial alterations, in the *Perāna Yast* and the *Ijīsni*, as well as the *Mainyoi-Khard* and the *Skand gumānīgujār*. Of this Foreword, the beginning consists of an invocation or

1 My acknowledgments are due to Miss Menant, who has done me the honour to translate the first of these papers into French, with the object of "making the labours of Parsi savants known" to their collaborators in Europe. See the *Journal Asiatique* for September-October 1915.

praise of Ahūramazda, and the end of a benedictory formula, of which neither contains anything to our purpose. The central portion is worded thus.

इयं पहिलवी-महनीऊषर्दनाज्ञी परलोकीया बुद्धिमया
निरीऊसंघेन धवलसुतेन पहिलवीभाषाया :
संस्कृतभाषायामवतारिता । विषमपारसीकाक्षरेभ्यश्च
अवस्ताक्षरैर्लिखिता । सुखप्रबोधाय उत्तमानां शिक्षाश्रोतॄणां सत्यचेतसां²

"This Pahlavi heavenly wisdom, called the Mainyō-i-Khard, is translated by me, Neryōsang son of Dhaval, from the Pahlavi language into the Sanscrit language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters, for the joyful understanding of the good listeners to instruction, the true-minded."³

We have good reasons for believing that Neryosangh's versions were carefully preserved and transcribed by the priests who came after him,⁴ and it is not unworthy of note that almost all the words and phrases in this part of Neryosangh's Preface are reproduced in the Sanscrit Introduction prefixed to La, an old MS of the *Saddar-i-Nathr*, which is now in the collection at the India Office, and which was presented to the Old East India Company's Library by Mr. J. Romer "who had brought it from India, most probably from Surat."⁵

2 Collected Sanscrit Writings of the Parsis, Part III. p. 1.

3 West. S. B. E. XXIV. p. xx.

4 This is proved by the existence of J 3, S 1, (Sanskrit Yasna) J 9 (Sanskrit Khordeh - Avesta, H 2 (otherwise called H 18), L 19 (Pāzand-Sanskrit Mainyo-i-Khard) and other old Codices, Geldner, Avesta, Prolegomena. iv, xiii, xxxii, and West, S. B. E. XXIV. p. xxi.

5 West. S. B. E. XXIV. p. xxxix. John Romer was the author of a curious paper entitled, "Zend, is it an original language?" which first appeared in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* and was reprinted in 1855.

This is obvious from the following rendering of the Introduction, for which we are indebted to West.

"This book named the Saddar, is brought together by me the priest Rāma, son of Kanhaksha, and translated from the Parsi language into the Gujar language, and written from the difficult Parsi letters with the Avesta letters by his son, the priest Rādama."⁶

It will be seen that the scribe has here done nothing but alter the names and replaced, as was necessary, the word "Sanskrit" by the word, "Gujar". (Gujarāti).

This Padam Rām and his father Rām Kanhaksha (or Kāhnān)⁷ belonged to the family of the Dasturs of Broach, though it is not easy to say how they were connected with the famous scribe Peshotan Rām Kāmdin who wrote MS in 1397 A. C.⁸ The Revāyet brought by Hirbadzādah Kāmdin Shāpur from Persia in A. Y. 928 (1559 A. C.) was addressed to this Dastur Padam Rām or Rāmyār;

6 West. *Op. cit.* p. xxxix.

7 Kāhna, Kāhnā, Kāhnān are only Deshi forms of the Sanskrit *Krishna* which often occur in Gujarati poetry. Kanhaksha is probably to be traced to the same source.

8 It is demonstrable from the Colophon of B1, the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad in the Bombay University Library, that its Scribe, Ardeshir, Jobad Jivā Vikā was a lineal descendant of Ardeshir Rām Kāmdin Shahriyā Neryosangh—the brother of Peshyotan (Dārāb, Pahlavi Vendidad. Introd. p. 10.) But it does not appear from the note in the handwriting of Dastur Kāus Rustam Jalāl—the father of Mullāfiruz—that his ancestor Padam Rāmyār was connected by descent with Peshyotan. Indeed, Peshyotan's name does not occur at all in Padam's pedigree which is given there as Padam, Rāmyār, Kāhnān Adarbād, Nehār, Sudeh [Rāmyār], Hormazdyār, Rāmyār. *Parsi Prakash* 1. 60 note. *Bharuchnā Dastur Khandānni Vanshāvli*, First ed. 1878 p. 8. Several other names have been inserted in the second edition of the latter work, but their interpolation in this part of the genealogical tree is not warranted by any old *Disāposhi*, and receives no support from any other authority.

as he is there called.⁹ It is, besides, distinctly stated in that missive that a copy of the *Saddar-i-Saddar* had been transmitted, together with other manuscripts, (an illustrated *Virāf-nāmah*, a *Saddar-i-Bundehesh*, precise instructions about the manner of consecrating a new *Ātash-Beherām* etc.) by the hands of the messenger for the benefit of all those Dasturs and Hirbads who desired to read them, on condition of the books being duly returned to Dastur Padam Rāmyār for safe keeping.¹⁰ It would appear from another letter which is preserved in Dārāb Hormazdyār's Collection, that after the death of this Padam Rām, there was a considerable difference of opinion in the Broach Anjuman as to the choice of his successor, and the Irānian priests were appealed to for their opinion. This they wisely declined to give, on the ground of distance, and their ignorance of local facts and conditions. At the same time, they advised the appellants to settle the matter amicably among themselves, and to choose some one worthier than the rest. In case they were unable to do so, they were told to refer the matter to the Dasturs of Navsari and abide by their decision.¹¹ It is unfortunate that this interesting epistle which demonstrates the preeminence attained by the Navsāri *panthak* in the days of Meherji Rānā, is not dated, but there can be little doubt that the death of Padam Rāmyār took place about 1580 A. C.

But this old Manuscript contains not only an Introduction or Preface in Sanscrit at the beginning, but also a Colophon or Postscript at the end, in the same language. "In the Samvat year 1631, the ninth day

9 *Pārsi Prakāsh*. I. 8; West, Pahlavi Literature in Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie. II. 126.

10 M. R. Unwāllā's lithographed text of Dārāb Hormazdyār's *Revāyet*. II. 459—460.

11 M. R. Unwalla, *Op. Cit.* II. 461—2. The words in the original are very emphatic. "And whomsoever, they [the Navsari Dasturs] appointed, they [the Broach residents] were to obey, and were not to dispute their decision, for the Lord had exalted them [the Navsāri Dasturs]. (*Keh nesd-i-Yazdān sarfarās and*)." One of the four signatories of this Iranian missive was Dastur Mīhrābān Naushirvān, probably the same who wrote in 936 A 20 V. (1587 A. C.) the two folios of the 'Bundehesh' which survive in K43, and finished two years later in 938 A 20 V (1589 A. C.), the Pahlavi *Dinā-i-Ma'nōg-i-Khirad* which is found in the same volume. West. S. B. E. V. p. xl; Geldner, *Proleg.* p. iii.

in the light half of the month Jyaishtha, on Wednesday, the Uttarā [Ashādhā?] lunar mansion; in the Parsi Samvat year 944, the 27th day Asmān, the sixth month Shahrivar, [18th May 1575], the Uzayērīna period (the afternoon), the book Saddar is completely written by an inhabitant of Bhṛigu-Kaccha. Brought together by the priest Rāma son of Kanhaksha, and written in the handwriting of the priest Padama his son, the book Saddar is completed."¹² This may be taken to mean that Padama Rām was alive in 944 A. Y. (1575 A. C.), and that he was the copyist of the Gujarāṭi version which his father Rāma had made from the Manuscript of the Prose Saddar received from Irān in 1559 A. C.

So far we are on fairly firm ground. What follows is not entirely free from doubt and difficulty. We read :

"Written by another, for the purpose of reading and for the purpose of reciting, by Hirāka of the good religion, son of * * * of the good religion, and also by Ādaraka of the good religion, son of Jāyā of the good religion. May it become auspicious and beneficial."¹³

The name of Hirāka's father West was not able to make out, and he says that it has to be "extracted, with one or two epithets from the corrupt Sanscrit compound *gnātīvyavyajihilūā*."¹⁴ I venture to suggest that the meaning of this barbarous collocation is, "the trader (*Vyava*, i.e. Sans. *Vyavahāri* or Guj. *Vohrā*) Jihilvā, of the caste (*gnātī*) of the good religion (*Behdin*, i.e. layman, as opposed to *Hirbad* or priest.)"

It is not necessary now to repeat what I have said on a former occasion about this word '*Vyava*,' or its connection with *Vyavahāri*.¹⁴ It will suffice to note here the occurrence of the word in another Parsi colophon, and the fact that the meaning assigned to it suits both passages perfectly well. At the same time, it may not be altogether

¹² West, S. B. E XXIV. p. xl.

¹³ Ibid. p. xl. note.

¹⁴ *Ante*, p. 125.

superfluous to say that Jihilvā or Jihillā is an old personal name which is now obsolete as such, though it still survives, like several other dis-used personal names, as a family name or surname. Jhillā occurs several times as the name of an individual in the first volume of the *Pārsi Prakāsh* ¹⁵, and it is probably nothing more than a familiar form of *Jivā* or *Jivan*,¹⁶ its feminine counterpart being *Jilubāi*, which bears the same relation to *Jivibāi*, *Jivanbāi* or *Jivanāi*. The name of Ādaraka's father Jāyā is also, very rarely or not at all, heard in the present day, but a Jamshed Jāiyā is recorded to have built, in fulfilment of a vow, a *Daremeher* at Surat out of his small savings.¹⁷ Ādaraka and Hirāka require scarcely any comment except that they are Ādar and Hirā with a terminal letter added as in *Kartaka*, *Damnaka* etc.

So far as to the names. Regarding the significance of this part of the postscript, it seems to me that La is not the Manuscript written by Padam Rām in 1575, but the direct transcript of it made several (it is impossible to say, how many) years later by Vohrā Hirā Jihiluā in collaboration with another man named Ādar Jāyā, or perhaps, a second transcript made by Ādar from Hirā's copy.¹⁸

Coming now to the Sanscrit Colophon of Mihirāpān Kaikhusrū, it is worthy of notice that, like the Foreword composed by Neryosangh,

15 Sohrābji Jillāji is mentioned in *Pārsi Prakāsh*. I. 360 and Kharshedji Jillāji, *ibid.* 79, 874.

Sohrābji Rattanji Jillā *ib.* 537; Dādābhai Rustamji Jillā, 131, 148, 516; Bāh-rāmji Dādābhai Jillā, 779 Ratanji Dādābhai Jillā, 360.

16 So Mancherji becomes Matlā, Pāhlanji Pāhlā, Pestanji Peslā, Kuvarji Kumlā, Bahramji Bahlā, Navroji Navlā, Nasarwānji Naslā, Meherwanji Mehllā, Barjorji Badlā etc.

17 *Pārsi Prakāsh*. I. 309.

18 In other words, it is impossible to extract any consistent statement out of these postscripts, except on the supposition that the first two colophons are *not* in Padam Rām's handwriting, but have been "copied in" by the later scribe. West's reasons for holding that La is the original Ms. written in 1575 appear to me more ingenious than convincing. Nevertheless the Ms is old, and was written, in all probability, not much later than 1600 A. C.

it occurs in almost identical terms in at least three of his Manuscripts—the late Dastur Jāmāspji Minocheherji's Codex, J (or MK) of Miscellaneous Pahlvi Texts, the Avesta—Pahlavi Yasna K. and the Avesta—Pahlavi Vendidad L.¹⁹

The language of this composition, like that of almost all other Parsi-Sanscrit colophons, is scarcely correct, and these few lines contain several words which are not of Sanscrit origin, and others which are not a little obscure. These difficulties I have already discussed in a former paper, and I will confine myself here to a few observations on the names borne by the scribe's patron and that patron's father. The uncertainties of the Pahlavi script make it possible to read either of them in many different ways, and some Parsi scholars have, probably, from a sentimental reluctance to recognise the Hinduising tendencies of their ancestors, even in the 14th Century, endeavoured to twist and turn the letters into Iranian forms like 'Jāhl' and 'Chahār' and 'Simgūn' and 'Sūdgūn.' But the futility of these ingenuities is demonstrated by the transliterations, *Chāhil* and *Sāngan* in the Devanāgarī script, to which we are once more indebted for our emancipation from the erratic labyrinth of the Pahlavi. The truth is that Chāhad, Chāhar, Chāhal or Chāhil²⁰ are Hindu names of frequent occurrence in the history of Mediæval India. The coins of Chāhad (or Chāhar) Deva, a Raja of Narwar who was a contemporary of Shams-ud-din Altmish are familiar to all students of Indian Numismatics.²¹ Chāhada was also the name of a Shrimālī Wānia who was one of the trusted advisers and generals of Kumarpāla, the Chālukya King of Gujarāt (1143—1174 A. C.).²² An earlier ruler,

19 L₄ itself does not now contain its Sanscrit postscript, but it is preserved in Pt₂, a copy made in A. Y. 1157, by Ervad Naoroz Rustam Bahrām Sānjanā. Darāb Dastur Peshotan, Pahlavi Vendidad. Introd. xlvii. Geldner, Avesta, Proleg. ix, xii.

20 The cerebral 'd' is often replaced by 'r' in spoken Gujarāti, and the transmutation of 'r' into 'l' is familiar to all students of philology.

21 Thomas, Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, 67—70, and the authorities quoted there. H. Nelson Wright, Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum. II. 24.

22 Bhagvānlāl Indrajī and Jackson., History of Gujarat in Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. I. Pt. i. pp 170, 187.

Mūlraj the founder of the Chalukya or Solanki dynasty, is said to have had for his ministers two persons, whose names are said by Forbes, to have been *Jumbuk* and *Jehul*. Now, there can be little doubt that *Jumbuk* is really a misreading or miswriting of *Champakā* or *Champā*, and it is highly probable that *Jehul* stands for *Chāhal*, *Chāhil* or *Chāhar*.²³

Similarly, *Sāngan* occurs as the name of a man in an inscription, dated Vikram Samvat 1352, in the Jain temple of the Chintāmanī Pārsvanath at Cambay.²⁴ *Sāng* was also the name of a Hindu Chief who ruled at Dholkā near Ahmadābād about 1513 V. S. (1456-7 A. C.)²⁵ *Sāngā* and *Sangā* are included, moreover, in the list of personal names which are still current in the Ahmadābād district.²⁶ The form 'Singhana' which occurs in the dynastic lists of the Chālukya, Kālachuri and Yādava kings of the Dekkan, may be a variant of 'Sangan,' though it can, with at least equal probability, be traced to 'Sinha.'²⁷

I will now proceed to examine a Colophon of the sixteenth century, which is as obviously a duplicate of this Sanskrit Postscript of Mihirāpān's, as the Introduction penned by Padam Rām is a reproduction of the Foreword composed by Neryosangh. This colophon occurs in a Pāzand-Prākṛit Manuscript of the *Mainyo-i-khard*, and is quoted in Ervad Tehmuras's edition of that text, as well in the Third part of the 'Collected Sanscrit Writings of the Parsis.' I have placed the original postscript of Mihirāpān and Jāl Kāmdin's copy side by side, to enable any one to see at a glance the resemblances as well as the differences between them.

23 Forbes, *Rāsmālā*, Reprint 1878. p. 40. Hemachandra's *Divyāsirāḍya*, in Indian Antiquary. IV. 72-74.

24 *Bhāvanagar Prāchin Shodha Sangraha*. Eng. Transl. 229, 231. The name of *Sāngā* Chākhad occurs in another inscription entered in the Gujarātī portion of the same work, Index, p. 41.

25 Buhler in B. B. R. A. S. Journal. XXXII. 284. Indian Antiquary. IV. 315.

26 C. E. G. Crawford in Indian Antiquary, IV. 238 and VII. 167.

27 Fleet, *Kanarese Dynasties*, in Bombay Gazetteer, Vol I, Pt. ii. pp. 453, 489, 522.

संवत् १३७७ वर्षे शुद्धि १४
 बुधे पारसी सन ६९० वर्षे माह आदररोज
 फर्रुखरदीन आद्यह ठाणां वेलाकुले
 सुलतान श्री गेयासदीन राज्य परि-
 पंथयतीत्येवं काले इरानजर्मी-देशात्
 समायात् पारसी आचार्य मिहिरवान-
 स्य बहुमान लेखापनं कागलं च प्रदाय
 पारसी व्यवसांगण सुत व्यवसाहि-
 लेन पुण्यार्थं एतस्य पार्श्वात् पुस्तक-
 मिदं लिखापितं शाहनामा गुस्तास्प
 पर्वनामा आदरपाद मारस्पंद नामा यः
 कोपि पुस्तकमिदं रक्षति पठति वा तेने
 व्यवसाहि-लेनस्य पूर्वजानां मुक्तात्मनां
 तथा एतस्य निमित्तं पुण्यं करणीयं ॥²⁸

संवत् १६१० वर्षे माह अविर्दा
 रोज रक्ष फाल्गुण सुदि ११ एकादश्यां
 भौमदिने द्वितीयायां तिथौ भौमदिने
 अद्य इह श्रीदमणबंदरे अमल अमानत
 हवाल्ले मलेक असद व्यापारे अद्य इह
 श्रीदमण-बंदरे श्रीगुर्जरातजनपदे श्री
 सुलतान महमुदशाह विजयराजे स्व-
 मुद्राव्यापारे परिपंथीयति इति इवं
 काले प्रवर्तमाने सति श्रीदमणबंदरे
 एवद कामदीनसुतेन एवर्द-जालेन बहु-
 तरं इमं लिखापितं कागलं च प्रदाय ।
 श्रीपारसीशास्त्रीयेन श्रीएवर्दजालेन
 कामदीनसुतेन पुण्यार्थं एतस्य पार्श्वात्
 पुस्तकं लिखापितं मइनीऊर्दजंद
 प्रकटे पाजंद [इति] नाम । यः कःइदं
 पुस्तकं अधीय (?) [अधीते] रक्षति
 पठति वा तेन एवर्दजालकामदीनस्य
 पूर्वजानां * * * लिखापितं ॥²⁹

This post-script of Jāl Kāmdin's is not without obscurities and difficulties of its own, and Ervad Shahriārji has candidly confessed his inability to make anything of at least two of its phrases, *viz.* **द्वितीयायां तिथौ भौमदिने** and **विजयराजे [विजयराज्ये] सर्वमुद्राव्यापारे परिपंथीयति**. It may not be, therefore, superfluous to point out that there is a reference, in the first of these expressions, to what writers on Hindu chronological systems call a 'Repeated *Tithi*,' and I beg leave to

28 Jāmāspji Dastur Minocheherji, Pahlavi Texts, 169.

29 Shahriārji, Collected Sanscrit Writings of the Parsis, Pt. III p. 49. The original colophon in the Manuscript itself is so "very incorrect" that the editor felt himself under an obligation to append a thoroughly revised version, which last only I have thought it worth while to quote.

quote the remarks made by Kielhorn on an almost identical locution occurring in the colophon of a Sanskrit Manuscript, of Anubhūti Svarupa's *Sārasvatī-prakriya* of which the date is thus expressed :

Samvat 1747 varshe prathama Vaisāshakha vadi dvitīyā-chaturthi-diné Budhe anurādhāyogē.

In commenting upon this date, Kielhorn says : " Vaishākha was intercalary in Northern V. S. 1747 expired ; for in that year the solar Vaishākha lasted from 29 March, 7 h. 19 m. to 29 April, 5 h. 32 m. A. D. 1690, and there were new Moons on 30 March 9 h. 42 m. and 28 April 19 h. 33 m. after mean sunrise. By the Tables, the results for the ending points of the 3rd, 4th and 5th Tithis of the dark half of the *Purnimānta* first Vaishākha would be as follows :

The 3rd tithi ended on Monday 17 March A. D. 1690, 23 h. 5 m. after mean sunrise ; no tithi ended on Tuesday, 18 March ; the 4th tithi ended on Wednesday, 19 March, 0 h. 34 m. after mean sunrise ; and on the day, the Nakshatra was Anurādhā upto 16 h. 25 m. after mean sunrise.

By the Tables, therefore, we should have a *Prathama--tritiyā* (Monday) and a *dvitīya--tritiyā* (Tuesday), but only one *chaturthi* (Wednesday.) But by the *Brahma-Siddhānta*, the 4th Tithi ended 22 h. 54 m. after mean sunrise of Tuesday, 18 March ; no tithi ended on 19 March. and the 5th tithi ended 0 h. 40 m. after mean sunrise of Thursday, 20 March : and accordingly, by that *Siddhantā*, Wednesday 19 March A. D. 1690 is properly called the *dvitīyā-chaturthi*.³⁰ Let me now turn to the expression श्री सुलतान महमुदशाह विजयराज्ये सर्वमुद्रान्यापारे परिपंचयति. It will be seen that the "strange word,

30 Indian Antiquary. XIX. 356. Subsequently Kielhorn returned to the subject, and gave a much more exact construction of the rules which regulate the falling of a Repeated tithi in Ind. Ant. XX. 413.

The MS is described in Weber's Berlin Catalogue, I. 219.

pān in connection with the name of Sultān Ghiyāsuddin [Tughlak] in the Colophons of MK (or J), L4 and K5. The fact of the matter is that we have here to deal with a formula borrowed by our scribes from the official phraseology of the Chālukya and Vāghelā rulers of Gujarāt, whose subjects the Parsis had been before the establishment of Musalmān supremacy in the province. This stands out clearly from an examination of the epigraphic records of those dynasties which have been critically edited in recent years by Fleet, Buhler, Hultzsck and others in the 'Indian Antiquary' and elsewhere.

I have been able to trace this formula in at least nine Chālukya and Vaghelā inscriptions of the 13th and 14th Centuries of the Vikrama era, of which the earliest is dated 1220 V. S. and the latest 1350 V. S. It will suffice to quote only two or three of them here, and give references to the rest. For instance, in a copper plate grant of Ajayapāladeva dated Kārtikka, Shukla 11, V. S. 1231, we read, of *Shrimad Ajayapāladeva-kalyāna-vijaya-rajyē tat-pādapadmōpajīvinī Mahāmātya-shrī-Sōmeshvarē Shri-Shri-Karanādāu samasta-mudrā-vyāpārān-paripanthayati sat-ity-etasmin-kālē pravartitamānē etc.*

This Fleet renders thus.

In the reign of the glorious Ajayapaladevā, "and while his feudatory (*lit.* he who subsists like a bee on the water-lilies that are his feet, *pāda padm-ōpajīvin*), the Mahāmātya, the illustrious Sōmeshvara is superintending all the functions connected with the royal seal in the records (*shri karana*) and other departments." ³²

Again, in the famous Verāval inscription of the temple of Harsata Mātā of V. S. 1320, we find.

31 Westergaard, Zend Avesta, Preface, p. 11 note.

32 Fleet, Indian Antiquary. XVIII. 83-4.

महाराजाधिराजभीमदभीमदेवप्रवर्द्धमानकट्याच विजयराज्ये
सत्पादपद्मोपजीविनि महामान्यराणकभीमालदेवे भीभीकरणादिसमस्त-
मुद्रान्यापारान् परिपंथयतित्येवं काले प्रवर्तमाने etc.

This has been translated, much in the same way, by another equally competent scholar, Hultzsch.

"In the victorious reign of the illustrious Arjunadēva, the king of great kings, * * * while the prime-minister Rānaka Shri Maldeva who lives devoted to his (Arjunadēva's) lotus-feet was conducting all the business of the seal, such as the drawing up of documents, at this period." 33

In the Abu inscription of Bhimadēva II of S. 1265, the same phrase occurs in a slightly different form,

महाराजाधिराज-भीमदभीमदेव—प्रवर्द्धमानविजयराज्ये
भीकरणे महामुद्रामत्य—महं ठाभू—प्रभृति
समस्त—पंचकुले परिपंथयति,

which Cartellieri renders thus :

"During the prosperous and victorious reign of the illustrious Bhimadēva, * * * the King of great Kings, while Maham Thābhū (?),

33 Ind. Ant. XI. 242—244. It will be remembered that the expression ठाणां वेलाकुले occurs in Mihirāpān's Colophon to the 'Pahlavi Texts,' and that I have construed it as "standing on the shore of the Sea." In this Verāval inscription, there is a similar phrase, हुर्मुजवेलाकुले, which Hultzsch has rendered, "on the shore of the Hormuz coast," by which, he adds, "the coast of the island itself or the neighbouring Persian Coast may be understood." *Ibid.* 244, note.

In another note on the same page, Hultzsch says that *Paripanthayati* is here used as an *intransitive*, as which it occurs too in an Abu inscription of Bhimadēva II, dated 1265.

It will be seen that there is little or no real difference in these three renderings of the formula, and it becomes possible, with their assistance, to offer the following translation of Jāl Kāmdin's Colophon.

"In the Samvat year 1610, month Khordād, Roz Rashna, Fāl-guna Sudi eleventh, Tuesday, the Second or *repeated* eleventh, [which fell on] Tuesday, on this day, here in the port of Daman when the office (or executive authority) [Arab. 'Amal] of Amin [Arab. *Amānat*, from *Amin*, trustworthy] was exercised by and in charge [Arab. *Havāle*] of Malik Asad, and here in the port of Daman in the province of Gujarāt, during the victorious reign of the Sultān Mahmūd Shāh, when all the business of the seals was performed by him [Malik Asad?] in the port of Daman, this [book] was caused to be written (?) and the writing-paper given [*i.e.* bought at the expense of] by Ervad Jāl, the son of Ervad Kāmdin. Shri Ervad Jāl, the son of Kāmdin of the Pārsi caste had this Pahlavi [Janda] book of Mainyo-Kharad written plainly in Pāzand by himself. He who preserves and reads it [will reflect merit on the emancipated souls of]³⁵ the ancestors of Ervad Jāl Kāmdin who had it written (wrote it?).

34 Indian Antiquary, XI. 221—223. Cartellieri says in a note that *Paripanthayati*, in the same meaning ['performed'], but used as a *transitive*, occurs in the inscription of Sārangdēva in the temple of Vastūpāla at Abu of Samvat 1350, in the Nādula plate of Kumārpāla of Samvat 1213, and in the inscription of Visaldēva of Samvat 1317. *ibid.* 223.

Buhler who has edited the inscription of Visaldēva in Ind. Ant. VI. 210 ff, says "*Paripanthayati*, loc. sing. pres. part. is used in all the Western inscriptions of the 12th and 13th Centuries in the sense of '*holding*.'" There are at least six other inscriptions in which this 'formula', as I have called it, occurs. They are (1) Kumārpālādēva V. S. 1220. Ind. Ant. XVIII. 343; (2) Ajaypālādēva V. S. 1229. Ind. Ant. XVIII. 347; J. B. A. S. XXXI. 125, (3) Bhimadēva II. V. S. 1264. Ind. Ant. XI. 338; (4) Bhimadēva II. V. S. 1266. Ind. Ant. XVIII. 113; (5) Visaldēva Vāghelā, V. S. 1317. Ind. Ant. VI. 210 and (6) Sārangdēva V. S. 1350.

35 The Sanscrit words for the phrase in brackets are not in Jāl Kāmdin's text, and Ervad Shahriārji was unable to restore them, as he was not aware of the source from which that scribe had borrowed the colophon, and copied it with but an imperfect comprehension of its meaning.

This postscript is dated Fālguna Sudi 11, 1610 V. S. (12th February, 1554 A. C.), and confirms what we know from other sources about the writer. It appears from an agreement dated V. S. 1608 that he was sent on behalf of the Sanjānā priests of Navsāri to minister to the spiritual wants of the Zoroastrians of the townships of Daman and Sanjān (which were then included in the Sanjānā *panthak*), on certain conditions specified in that document.³⁶ His name occurs also in the superscription of a letter addressed by the Priests of Yazd to Dastur Meherji Rānā and other Indian Zoroastrians, which is known as the Revāyet-i-Kāus Kāmdin, and of which the accredited date is Roz Bahman, Māh Bahman 922 A. Y. (1553 A. C.)³⁷

I will now proceed to say something about two other Postscripts which are remarkable for their brevity and simplicity. The first of them occurs in H18, a very old Pāzand-Sanscrit MS of the Ardāvirāf-nāmeḥ which was secured by Haug during his tour in Gujarāt, and which is now in the Royal Library at Munich. The words are,

Saṁvat 1466 Varshe Chaitrashudī 13 bhāume navīna Arddā-virāya-nāma pustakam—ervada—Rāmena ervada—Kāmdīna—sutenā sundarena samādhānena likhitam.

"In the Samvat year 1466, on the 13th of the light half of Chaitra, early on Tuesday (?) the book of the Ardāvirāf-nāmah was written with suitable devotion by the herbad Rām, the son of herbad Kāmdin".

"This date corresponds," says Haug, "to the 18th of March A. D. 1410, and the writer may possibly have been the Rām Kāmdin who was the father of Peshyotan, the writer of H6, although his writing is dated 12½ years later than that of his son."³⁸

36 The original text and English translation of the Agreement will be found in my paper on "Some Ancient Parsi Documents."

37 My Revāyet MS. written by Mahrnush Kaikobād, folio 212 b. West in Grundriss. II, 126.

38 Hoshangji and Haug, Book of Ardāvirāf. Introductory Essays, p. x. Haug's rendering of 'Navina' by 'early' is admittedly doubtful, and is not supported by any Sanscrit dictionary. It seems to me that Rām Kāmdin wrote, or at least meant to write *Navinam*, and that what he intended to say was that he had transcribed the 'Arddā-virāya-nāma' anew, i.e. made a fresh copy of it from some ancient original.

There is nothing inherently impossible in this conjecture, and the posteriority of date can scarcely be called an insuperable objection. Supposing Peshyotan Rām to have reached the age of 25 when he transcribed H (or M₆) in 1397 A. C., he would have been born in 1372 A. C.. Now it is not at all uncommon in this country for a person to become a father at twenty or even earlier, and Rām Kāmdin's own birth may have taken place in 1352. He would, in that case, have been in 1410 only fifty-eight years old, an age at which it is by no means impossible for a well-preserved individual to transcribe a Manuscript without the use of spectacles.³⁹

But I am afraid that it is not possible to give even this qualified assent to Haug's attribution to the same scribe of another "very valuable manuscript" which belonged to the late Dastur Hoshang Jāmāsp, and which contains the text of several Khordeh Avesta pieces, with their Sanskrit and Gujarātī translations, and the Ardāvīrāfnāmak as well as the Bahman Yasht, with Sanscrit and Gujarati versions. "The date A. Y. 784 (A. D. 1415) is appended," says Haug, "to the Ashirvād, and the Ardāvīrāfnāmak has the following colophon; *Yādrisham pustake drishtaṇ tādriṣhaṇ likhitaṁ mayā ; yadi shuddham ashuddhaṇvā mama dosho na dīyate ; ervada—Rānā (Rāmena ?) ervada-Kāmdīnasuta likhitaṁ* :

"As seen in the book, so it was written by me, whether correct or incorrect, no blame is attributable to me ; written by herbad Ram (?) son of herbad Kāmdin."

Haug has, in the translation, substituted *Rām* for *Rānā*, and offered the suggestion that the writer was probably the same person "who wrote H18 five years before." I submit that this identification is very far from being tenable. In the first place, the name is clearly written *Rānā* in the Ms. and there is no reason for supposing it to be

39 West's letter of 8th July 1891 in J. J. Mody's *Irāni Viśayāḥ*, Part III, 20c. Geldner also quotes with approval West's opinion as to "the sixtieth year of age being the extreme limit of the activity of a copyist." Proleg. xxxix.

a miswriting of *Rāmena*. In the second place, this Ms of 1415 A. C. hails from Navsāri, while its predecessor of 1410 A. C. belonged originally to, if it was not actually found by Haug in, Broach, during his tour in Gujārāt in 1863-64.⁴⁰

It follows that if the existence of a Rānā Kāmdin, among the priests of Navsāri in the first quarter of the Fifteenth century, can be proved with anything like reasonable certainty, it would go far to invalidate the claim put forward by Haug in favour of Rānā Kāmdin of Broach. Now a glance at the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvli* of Ervad Rustamji Jāmāspji Dastur, is sufficient to show that a Rānā Kāmdin was the great grand-father of Pāhlan Annā, (the pedigree being Pahlān, Annā, Chāndnā, Rānā, Kāmdin).⁴¹ The name of this Pāhlan Annā occurs in the Revāyet-i-Jāsā, of which the date is 885 A. Y. (1516 A. C.)⁴², and also in the letter of Aspandīār Sohrāb which West supposes, on good grounds, to have been penned about 1520 A. C.⁴³ Moreover, Pāhlan Annā was the father of Bahrām Pāhlan, the family priest of Mānek Chāngā, and Bahrām's name occurs in the metrical Persian version of the Ardāvirāfnāme, which was made by Kāus Fariburz in Navsāri in 1533 A. C. (902 A. Y.).⁴⁴ We also know that Mihirvān Māhyār Padam wrote, for this very Bahrām Pāhlan in A. Y. 890 V. S. 1577 (A. C. 1520) the Pāzand-Sanscrit Mainyo-i-Khard which is now in the India Office Library.⁴⁵ We may take it, then, that Pāhlan Annā who was one of the grave and reverend seniors of the Navsāri Anjuman in 1516 A. C., and who had a grown-up son in 1520 A. C., was about fifty at the former date. In other words, he may be presumed to have been born about 1466 A. C. Allowing

40 B₁ the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad, which is now in the Bombay University Library and which was purchased by Haug for the Government of Bombay, during this tour, also came from Broach.

41 *Op. Cit.* p. 1.

42 My Revāyet MS. folio 97 a.

43 *Ibid.* folio 134 b. M. R. Unwāllā's lithograph of Dārāb Hormazdyar, II. 446. West, Grundriss. II. 125-6.

44 MS in the Library of the Śīr Kāvasji Jehāngīr Madressā at Navsāri folio 3 a and 54 a.

45 West, S. B. E. XXIV. p. xxi.

twenty-five years for a generation, the birth-dates of his father Annā, his grandfather Chāndnā and his great-grandfather Rānā [Kāmdin] would fall in 1441, 1416, and 1391 A. C. respectively. Rānā Kāmdin would thus have been about twenty-four years old at the date of this Ms., viz. 1415 A. C.

But this is not all. It is further clear from another part of this valuable collection of pedigrees that Dastur Hoshang Jāmāsp, the owner of the Ms. was a lineal descendant in the sixteenth generation of this very Rānā Kāmdin. Dastur Hoshang was born in 1835 A. C. and his pedigree is, Hoshang, Jāmāsp, Rustam, Edal, Bahman, Jamshed, Jāmāsp, Asā, (Barzor), Faredun, Sukhlā, Chāndā, Kādvā, Hoshang, Shāpur, Chāndnā, Rānā, Kāmdin.⁴⁶

Indeed, the critical sagacity of Geldner enabled him to perceive that this MS. (which he has designated H₂) and Dastur Jāmāspji Minocheherji's Sanscrit Khordah Avesta J₁, were "closely related." It [H₂] "is written," he says, "in a peculiar character resembling that of J₁ and closely akin to that Manuscript." He adds that "several signs recall the style of writing in S, which is equally original."⁴⁷ Now, S₁ also was a MS. lent to Geldner through Dastur Jāmāspji by its owner, Ervad Mancherji Barzoi of the Pāvri family of Navsāri⁴⁸, and I venture to say that the probabilities are all in favour of the supposition that H (or H₂) J₁ and S were all written by some priest or priests of Navsari, and that they are all heirlooms which were transmitted and preserved for generations in one or other branch of some old Bhagariā family.

In a second and much later MS. of the Pāzand-Sanscrit Ardā Virāf also belonging to Dastur Hoshang, is preserved another old Postscript of the same century, but which belongs to a different type. Haug has thus translated it.

⁴⁶ *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvali*, 22-3.

⁴⁷ *Avesta*, Proleg. iv.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xiii. It is perhaps necessary to add, for the knowledge of European, if not Parsi, scholars, that Dastur Jāmāspji Minocheherji belonged to the same family as Dastur Hoshang and was a descendant of Rānā Kāmdin also.

“Written by the priest Bahirām, son of the priest Lakshmidhar ; in the Samvat year 1507, on Monday, the 12th lunar day of Mārgashirsha, in the course of the Variyān Yoga, in the Ashvini Nakshatra, [corresponding to about the 16th November A. D. 1450], in the lands of Nāgasārakā [the old name of Navsāri].”

This Colophon is a clear imitation of a type, of which numerous examples may be found in any good collection of Sanscrit Manuscripts.⁴⁹ Its distinguishing feature is the mention of the *Yoga*, the *Nakshatra*, and sometimes the *Karama*, ruling at the time when the MS. was finished. These are matters of great importance in the eyes of the Indian astrologer, but for the student of the Parsi history, the interest of this brief note lies, not in its horary details, but in the name of the scribe. Who then was Bahirām, the son of Lakshmidhar? I venture to offer the suggestion that he was the great-great-grandfather of that “conscientious copyist” Āsadin Kākā, whose pedigree is given by himself in the important Yasht Codex F, as Asadin, Kākā, Dhanpāl, Lakshmidhar.⁵⁰ Now it appears from the colophon of a Vendidad written in A. Y. 1142 that this Lakshmidhar’s father and grandfather were respectively named Bāmā (Bahirām) and Lakshmidhar.⁵¹ We may then take it that the writer of the Colophon which has been “copied in” and preserved in Dastur Hoshang’s Ms. was the great-great-grandfather of Asadin Kākā.

This brings me to a Colophon of Asadin Kākā himself which is preserved in Ak, a manuscript of the *Shikand-Gumānik-Vijār*, and which has been transliterated and translated as follows by West.

“*Sānvat 1625 Varshe, Shāke 1491 pravrittamāne roja-Sahir-evara-mūha-Bahmana-adahe shri-NāgmandalKarnne pādashāha-Shri*

49 Hoshangii and Haug, Book of Ardaviraf, Introductory Essays, XII. Peterson, Fourth Report on a search for Sanscrit Manuscripts, No. 1498.

50 Geldner, Avesta, Prolegomena, iii.

51 Dārāb Dastur Peshotan, Pahlavi Vendidad, Introd. xliv. The writer was a lineal descendant of Aspandiyār Kākā, the brother of Asadin. Bāmā is a familiar form of Bahirām.

Sultāna-Majāpharashāh-vyājjarāye Amalshāna-Shri-Chingajashān-vyāpāre ai-Kākāsuta-e-Āsadina-likhitam Skandagumānāñ Gujārāndma-pustikam. Shubham bhavatu ! Kalyānamastu !

“ In the Samvat year 1625, in the current Shāka year 1491, on the present day (?), the day Shahrivar of the month Bahman, in the district (?) of Navsāri, in the invincible reign of King Sultān Muzaḥḥarshāh, the book named Shikand-gumānik Vijār is written for the use of Amalshāh Chingizshāh, by the priest Āsadin son of the priest Kākā. May it become auspicious ! May it be beneficial ! ”

To this rendering the following note is appended.

“ Amalshāh’s father, Chingizshāh, was probably son of the Mānekshāh Chāngāshāh who was the chief of the Parsi laymen in Navsāri in 1531, when he was seventy years old, as stated in the Hādesā-Nama, (Bombay, 1831), and his great-grand-father was, most likely, the Chāngā Shāh who is mentioned in the correspondence between the Parsis of India and those in Persia in 1478-81, which is still preserved in the Persian Revāyets.”⁵²

I submit that Chingizshāh and Amalshāh are both names utterly unknown among the Parsis, and that Mānekshah never had any son bearing the strange Mongol name Chingizshāh. I may be perhaps permitted to say that these queer names were, for long, a matter of doubt and perplexity to me, until I found out that the great Pahlavi-sant had misread and therefore also misunderstood the latter part of the Colophon, which is written, as he justly says, in “corrupt Sanscrit.” The fact is that the ‘*Kh*,’ is in manuscripts of the 16th and 17th Centuries, written so very much like the cerebral ‘*S*,’ that the one is very liable to be mistaken for the other. I venture to say, with some confidence, that the true reading of the words after *vyājya-rāye* is *Amala Khāna-Shri-Chingija Khān-vyāpāre ai. Kākāsuta-e-Āsadina etc.* i.e. “when the executive authority (Arab. *Amal*) was

⁵² Hoshang and West’s ed. of the Text. Introd. xxii. See also West, S. B. E. XXIV, p. xxxii note.

exercised (*vyāpāre*, performed, transacted, conducted) by Khān Shri Chingiz Khān.”⁵³

It is scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the parallel expression *Amal amānat havāle Malik Shri Asad vyāpāre* etc. which occurs in Jāl Kāmdin's Colophon.

The Sultān Majapharashāh of this postscript was the puppet-King Muzaffar III, who was placed on the throne by the Gujārāt “King-maker” ‘Etamād Khān after the murder of Ahmad Shāh III in 1561. “The Kingdom of Guzerat,” says Ferishta, “was now subdivided into separate provinces,” and “the province of Surat, and the districts of Nādote and Chāmpānere” were allotted to this Changiz Khān, while Broach fell to the share of his nephew, Rustam Khān. Etāmad Khān himself took the districts between the Sābarmati and the Mahindri (Mahi), while the district of Patan was assigned to Musā Khān and Sher Khān Faulādi.⁵⁴ After ‘Etamād Khān had been foiled in ousting the Faulādīs from power, “Changiz Khan proposed to Sher Khān Fauladi that they should expel. ‘Etamād Khan and divide Gujārāt between them, the capital and the country south of the Sābarmati falling to the share of Changiz Khān, and that to the north to Sher Khān Faulādi. Sher Khān agreed, and Changiz Khān joining him, they marched on Ahmedābād.” Etamād Khān sustained a severe defeat at the hands on Changiz Khān in a battle fought on the right bank of the Khāri, about eight miles south of Ahmadābād and fled with the King to Modasā, while Changiz Khān took possession of the Capital and divided the kingdom with Sher Khān as had been agreed. “After this success, all the chief nobles of Gujārāt, including the Habshis, joined Changiz Khān, who was now at the zenith of his power, and began to think of subduing Sher Khān Faulādi, who on his part was anxious and fearful.” But Changiz Khān himself was soon afterwards assassinated by Alf

53 The word conjecturally rendered ‘district’ is the ‘*Karne*’ which has already occurred as *Karne* or *Karnddau* in the Chālukya inscriptions, and means ‘the Record Department, or the Secretariat or Chancellerie. “*Shri Karṇa*, lit ‘making *Shri*,’ then obtains the meaning of ‘Secretariat,’ Cartellieri. Ind, Ant. XI. 223 note.

Khān and Jhūjhā Khān Habshi at the instigation of a discontented eunuch name Bijli Khān in A. H. 976 (1568-69 A. C.)⁵⁴ It will be thus seen that the person referred to in the Colophon is this Changiz Khān who was the virtual ruler of all Gujarāt south of Ahmādābād, at the time, and that there is no need of supposing that Mānekshāh and Chāngāshāh had a son and grand-son bearing the unthinkable names, Amalshāh and Chīngizshāh.

I must now advert to another old postscript which is not devoid of historical interest, and which is preserved in a Manuscript of the 'Aogemdaichā' which is now in the Munich State Library. It is reproduced in the Introduction to Geiger's edition of that Fragment, and I give it in that scholar's transliteration.

*Samvat 1555 varshe, Māgashirshamāse, Shuklapushpe[sic] trayodashyam tithau, Somadine, spindūrmadamāse, bahirāmrōjye adyeh Shri Ankuleshware, Shrih-sultān Mahimūda vijayarājye, ervadān-ervad-Homām-putra-ervad—Mowad—sutena ervad Bahman, Ugamadakhichā-janda pajandanāma-pustakam prabhodhodyām Samādhūnena likhitam.*⁵⁵

There is nothing uncommon in the language of this colophon, which is so easy as to stand in no need of a formal translation. The interest lies in the name of the scribe Hirbadān-hirbad Homā, the son of Mobad, the son of Bahman, who says he finished the Manuscript at Ankleshwar on Monday the 13th of the light fortnight of Mārgashirsha, which corresponded with the Parsi Roj Bahrām Māh Aspāndārmad in the Vikram year 1555, in the victorious reign of the Sultān Mahmūd Shāh [Begadā] of Gujarāt. Now, we have good reasons for believing that Ankleshwar was from very early times a centre of

54. History of Gujarāt. Bombay Gazetteer. Vol. I, Part I, 263-4. The date (975 A. H.) is given on the authority of the *Mirat-i-Sikandary*, Fāzal Lutfullāh's trans., 301. For other references to this Changiz Khan, see the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* in Elliott and Dowson, V. 280, 325, 330; Lowe, Badaoni, II. 67, 68, 105, 110, 147, 151, Abul Fazl, *Akbar-nāmā* in Elliott and Dowson, VI. 125; Briggs, *Op. Cit.* 156—164.

55. Geiger, *Op. Cit.* Introduction, p. 11.

Parsi population. It is common knowledge that the town is mentioned in the *Qissah-i-Sanjān* as one of the five places (Navsāri, Broach, Cambay, Vānkāner and Ankleshwar) to which the Zoroastrian refugees began to spread from Sanjān about two hundred years after their first arrival in the Country. But we have much better evidence of the fact in the old Avesta-Pahlavi Visparad transcribed at Ankleshwar by Rustam Mihirāpān in 627 A. C. (1278 A. C.)⁵⁶ And it appears from a note in an old Disāpothi preserved in the Ankleshwar *Daremehr*, that a Behdin named Narsang Dhanpāl of Hānsot had a Tower of Silence built at his own expense at Ankleshwar about the beginning of the 16th century.⁵⁷ This Narsang Dhanpāl died in 1517 A.C. But the priests and laymen of Ankleshwar are expressly mentioned among the Indian Zoroastrians to whom the first Persian Revāyet brought by Narimān Hoshang thirty-nine years earlier (847 A. Y. 1478 A. C.) was addressed. Now, in that missive, we find that the Hirbad Homān of Ankleshwar is specially named and exhorted to enforce the observance by the laity of certain ceremonial practices which were said to have fallen into neglect.⁵⁸ There can be little doubt that the Hirbad Homān of the Revāyet is no other than the scribe who wrote the old Manuscript in 1498, A. C., and we learn from the Colophon that his father was named Mobad and his grandfather Bahman. The title of *Hirbadān-Hirbad* which he gives himself, indicates that he was the acknowledged spiritual leader of the community, and this is in its turn, borne out by his being the only priest of Ankleshwar who is mentioned *by name* in the Revāyet referred to.

56. Geldner, *Avesta, Polegomena*, vii and xxxviii-ix.

57. *Parsi Prakāsh*, I. 7.

58. M. R. Unwālā, *Op. Cit.* II, 378, l. 15.

THE DATES OF THE PERSIAN REVAYETS.

In the course of the foregoing dissertations on some of the most debatable points of Mediæval Parsi history, I have so often relied upon or referred to the Persian Revāyets, that it is scarcely necessary to plead any excuse for dealing at length to-day, with a difficult problem which lies at the very root of their usefulness for chronological purposes. That problem relates to the initial year of the Era to which the dates of the Colophons of these Revāyets belong. I have, like all those who have preceded me in this field of inquiry, taken it for granted that it is the Ordinary Yazdajardi Era, the commencement of which was synchronous with the day of the accession of Yazdajard to the throne (16th of June 632 A. C.). But it is now common knowledge that a very different era, sometimes called the Parsi and at others the Zoroastrian, was in general use during the middle ages among the followers of the Old Faith in Irān, and that its first year was not the 632nd, but the 652nd of the year of Christ, in which the Sassanian dynasty was for ever distinguished by the murder of Yazdajard at Merv-i-Shāhijān.

E. W. West informs us that “nearly all the Pahlavi Kolophons written by Persian Parsis are dated either from the twentieth year of Yazdakart, or in Pārsig years, which imply the same thing; this was the Era of the Zoroastrians, or the Magi, described by Albiruni and

now no longer in use. When it went out of use is not known, but the copy of the Kolophon of L_4 preserved in Pt_2 gives the date from both Eras, showing that the Era A. 20 Y. was still in use in 1323; but there are reasons for believing that Persian writers of Pahlavi Kolophons *continued to write the accustomed formula for the twentieth year after Yazdakart, for more than a century after they had ceased to count the years from that Era.* This additional complication and uncertainty applies probably to all Persian-Pahlavi Kolophons of these last two centuries, and is a matter that requires further investigation. The exact difference produced by calculating the same date from the two different eras is five days less than twenty years, on account of the five leap-years that occur in that period; and the easiest mode of calculating is to add 20 years to the Persian date, and then calculate as if it were an Indian Kadmi Pārsi date.”¹

Geldner also has a luminous note on the subject, in which he points out that “the oldest quotable instance for this era [the Parsi or A. 20 Y.] is the colophon of Māhvindād, first copyst of the Dinkard, A. D. 1020, a contemporary therefore of Albirūni,” and that the formula ‘Twentieth year after Yezdegerd’ is found also “in the later colophons to the Dinkard, and in JP^1 K^{13} , F^2 , MF^1 . * * * More over, even in certain cases where the older Persian Mss. do not specifically add the twentieth year of Yezdegerd, we have nevertheless, to accept that the calculation is made from the year A. D. 651”, as in K_{43} and K_7 . “At a later period, or from about the year 1600, the use of the Common Yezdegerd Era became established in Irān by the side of the Zoroastrian.* * * After about 1700, *the twentieth year appears to have become merely a formula no longer understood*, and the common Yezdegerd era became the usual one in Persia. In F_1 there are two copies by the same scribe, bound together (and in reverse order); the first is dated 28 Dai A. 20 Y. 1075, the second 21 Dai A. Y. 1075. It is evident that a space of twenty years did not elapse

between the two copies. Both dates must therefore be computed as 1706 A. D. Nevertheless, as long as the various methods of dating have not been fully investigated and established, a certain caution is advisable. Therefore even in cases after 1700 where the Parsi year is expressly mentioned, I have, nevertheless, left both possibilities open."²

Now, every one of the Persian Revāyets included in the Classified Compilation of Dastur Dārāb Hormazdyār was written *in Persia before* the point of time (1700 A. C.) at which the Common Yazdajardi Era is *supposed* by Geldner to have become the usual one in Persia. Indeed, it would seem that all these missives were indited during the very period of transition, in which both eras were current at the same time in Irān, and in two cases, at least, the word 'Pārsi' is expressly used in the Colophons, so that it is open to any one, (so long as the question has "not been fully investigated"), to maintain, as the late Ervad Tahmurasp actually did, that the Era used in these documents is not the Yazdajardi but the Parsi, not the A. Y. but the A. 20 Y., and that all these epistles have been, up to now, erroneously antedated by just five days short of twenty years.

Now, it is clear that for the purposes of textual criticism generally, it does not really much matter whether a good Manuscript or a bad one was transcribed, as a matter of fact, in 1500 A. C. or 1520 A. C., but where the primary object is to establish upon a firm chronological basis the leading events in the annals of a people, the easy alternative of two eras separated from each other by no less than twenty years must, in spite of the apparent advantages of "leaving both possibilities open," be fatal to all true historical research.

I propose therefore to devote the final paper in this series to an exhaustive examination of this problem which has, notwithstanding its importance, been neglected, if not consigned to limbo

2 Geldner, *Avesta, Prolegomena*, p. iii. Note.

altogether by our scholars, probably from a consciousness of its nature precluding any hope of obtaining aught else than abortive results.

It is scarcely necessary to premise that in these Revāyets are comprised "the replies and information collected by some special messenger who had been sent, by some of the chief Pārsis in India, to obtain the opinions of the Pārsis in Persia, regarding certain particulars of religious practice which were duly specified in writing, or to apply for copies of MSS which were either unknown or scarce in India."³ The first Indian Zoroastrian to be despatched on this mission was a Behdin of Broach named Narimān Hushang, and the epistle he brought is subscribed by the Dasturs of the villages of Turkābād and Sharfābād near Yazd. It would appear that Narimān had not been provided with any letter or credentials in writing, and he does not seem to have possessed even the obviously indispensable qualification of an acquaintance with Persian. He was therefore obliged to stay for about a year with his co-religionists in Yazd, and to make his living by the purchase and sale of small quantities of dates. During the interval, he had acquired a sufficient knowledge of the language to convey to his Iranian friends some information relating to the Zoroastrian Settlements in India, their leaders, and the state of religion.⁴ The reply of the Iranians is addressed by name to Changā Shāh the leader of the town of Navsāri (*Sāqlār-i-Shahr-i-Navsāri*), and other "Athornāns, chiefs and Hirbads," of the towns

3 E. W. West in Grundriss, 125.

4 Revāyet Manuscript in my possession finished by Hirbad Mahrnush Kaiqulād Māhiyār Rānā Jaisang on Roz Ashtād Māh Adat, 1022 A. Y. (27th July 1653 A. C.), folio 175 b, ll. 9-15. In this volume the Revāyets of Kaus Mahiyār, Kāmdin Shāpur, Jāsā. Aspandīār Sohrāb, Narimān Hushang, the letters of 855 A. Y. and 880 A. Y. and the Revāyets of Kāus Kāmdin, Kāus Kāmān (?) and Dastur Barzoi are transcribed in the *original form* without any classification or arrangement of their contents. The last two Revāyets—Kāus Kāmān's with the date 962 A. Y., and Dastur Barzoi's—are each in an altogether different hand. I shall hereafter call this Ms. M. K. Eivād Mānekji Rustamji Unwāllā's Lithograph of Dārēb Hormazdyār's Revāyet, Vol. II. 389, ll. 2-5. This is a fairly accurate reproduction of a Ms in Dārēb Hormazdyār's *own* handwriting, finished on Roz Hormazd, Māh Shahrivar, 1061 A. Y. (1692 A. C.). I shall quote it hereafter as D.H. Lith.

of Surat, Anklesar, Bhāruch, and Khambāit, and the writers invoke the blessings of Heaven upon Changā Shāh and thank Providence that he had been able, (as they had learnt from Narimān Hushang), to secure the exemption of the Zoroastrians of Navsāri from the payment of the Jizyā. (*Jizyāē-i-Behdinūn-i-Navsāri dūr kunānideh*)⁶. The names of several other Indian Parsis of note occur in the body of this letter, *e.g.* Hirbad Bāchā (Wācchā), Hirbad Dādā and Hirbad Khurshed.⁷ The last two are again mentioned along with another priest of Navsāri named Ānnā.⁸ A Hirbad Homān of Anklesar is also expressly requested to see that the ceremonial injunctions of the faith in regard to women were carefully observed in the town of the Anjuman of which he was the leader (*Peshwā*)⁹. We also learn from this missive that the name of the leading Parsi resident in Narimān's own birth place, Broach, was Hushang Rāmyār, who is called *Kadkhudā*, *i.e.* Headman or Patel.¹⁰

The signatories of this epistle are

Jāmāsp Shahriār, Siāvakhsh Bahrām, Kaikhusru Siāvakhsh and Hushang Siāvakhsh¹¹. The actual scribe gives his name as Shāpur Jāmāsp, Shahriār, Bakhtāfrid, Shahriār, Bahrām, Naushirvān.¹²

5 M. K. folio 163 b, l. 13; D. H. Lith. II, 379, l. 5.

6 M. K. folio 165 a, ll. 13—15; D. H. Lith. II, 380, l. 7.

7 M. K. folio 165 a, ll. 8-9, D. H. Lith. II, 380 l. 4. This Hirbad Dādā was probably Dādā Jaisang, the grand-father of Dastur Rānā Jaisang and great grand-father of Dastur Mehrij Rānā.

8 M. K. folio 167 a, ll. 12-3; D. H. Lith. II, 381, l. 19.

9 M. K. folio 163 a, l. 9; D. H. Lith. II, 378, l. 15. I have shown elsewhere that this was Hirbād Homān, the son of Mobād, the son of Bahman—who appears, from a Colophon preserved in MH₂₁ to have made a copy of the Aogemdaichā with Pāzand and Sanscrit versions in Vikram Samvat 1555 (1498 A. C.).

10 M. K. folio 162 b, l. 10; D. H. Lith. II, 378 l. 8 and M. K. folio 176 a, l. 15; D. H. Lith. II, 389.

11 M. K. folio 168 a, ll. 10-11; D. H. Lith. II, 382, l. 15. Jāmāsp Shahriār was evidently the scribe Shāpur's father. Kaikhusru Siāvakhsh, whose name occurs here as well as in the next Revāyet, was the brother of Hushang Siāvakhsh and was the person who had written the ancestral Codex of the Vajirihā-i-Din-i-Shapir-i-Mazdyastān, from which first Gopatshāh-i-Bustām-i-Bundār, then Marzpan-i-Fredun and lastly Fredun-i-Marzpan-i-Fredun transcribed the Ms. which was in Ervad Tahmuras's Library. Tahmuras, Bundahison Facsimile, Introduction, p. xiv.

12 M. K. folio 168 a, l. 6 and D. H. Lith. II, l. 382, l. 11 and II, 372, l. 7.

It is clear from the full name of Hushang Siāvakhsh which occurs in two other places as Hushang Siāvakhsh, Shahriār, Bakhtāfrid [Shahriār], Bahrām, Khusruishāh Anushirvān¹³ that Shāpur Jāmāsp was his first cousin. There are in this letter four colophons, the dates in two of which are identical, and those of the third and fourth differ from each other and from the first two by a few days only. They are

۱ روز مانتر سفند ماه مهر سال هشت صد و چهل و هفت پارسی پس از
یزدجرد شاهان شاه¹⁴

۲ روز مهر سفند ماه مهر پیروزگر سال هشت صد و چهل و هفت سالی(?)
پس از یزدگرد شاهان شاه اور مزدان¹⁵

۳ روز خرداد ماه مهر قدیم و سال هشتصد و چهل و هفت یزدگرد شهریار¹⁶

۴ روز خورماه آبان سال هشتصد و چهل و هفت بشرح تاریخ یزدگرد شهریار¹⁷

(1) Roz Māntraspand, Māh Mihr, of the year 847 *Pārsi*, after Yazdagard the King of Kings.

(2) Roz Mahrasfand, Māh Mihr the victorious, of the year 847 (*Sāli*, Pārsi?) after Yazdagard, the King of Kings, of the race of Aurmazd.

(3) Roz Khurdād, Māh Mihr [according to] the ancient (*Qadim*) [reckoning] of the year 847 of Yazdagard Shahriār.

(4) Roz Khūr, Māh Abān of the year 847 of the Era [*ba shah-i-tārikh*] of Yazdagard Shahriār.

13 M. K. folio 153 a, ll. 3-7; 155 b, ll. 2-4. D. H. Lith. II, 368, ll. 7-8 and II, 371, l. 3.

14 M. K. folio 153 b, ll. 4-8. D. H. Lith. II, 368, ll. 12-14.

15 M. K. folio 156 a, ll. 4-9. D. H. Lith. II, 371, ll. 5-6.

16 M. K. folio 157 b, ll. 7-8. D. H. Lith. II, 372, l. 10.

17 M. K. folio 168a, ll. 3-5; D. H. Lith. II, 382, ll. 10-11.

It will be noticed that the year is everywhere the same, but that in one case at least, it is expressly called Pārsi, while in the three others, it is merely said to belong to the era called after the Kings of Kings, Yazdagard. What then are we to understand by this 847th year Pārsi or Yazdagardi, and with which of the two did it really correspond, 1478 A. C. or 1498 A. C.? We know that Shāpur Jāmāsp Shahriār had transcribed in 840 A. Y. the famous codex of the *Nirangistān* which may be regarded, through the copy made by his descendant, Jāmāsp Hakim Vilāyati as the archetype of all the Indian MSS of that text¹⁸, but then there is nothing at all to show that Shāpur Jāmāsp was not alive in 1498 A. C., and the point must remain undecided if no light is forthcoming from some other source. I shall presently show that, so far at least as this Revāyet is concerned, that light is happily not denied to us.

But before that can be accomplished, it will be necessary to examine the two subsequent Revāyets, in both of which the leading Indian addressed is ('hangā Shāh, and in which many of the other names also, both of subscribers and addressees, reappear. It is obvious that all the three documents must belong to practically the same period, and that the only way to understand their real significance and form a correct estimate of their chronological position, is to consider them as belonging to a single whole or group, of which the members must stand or fall together, and to all of which the same solution must apply.

Well then, the Revāyet which is next in point of time after this letter of 847 (A. Y. or A. 20 Y. as it may prove to be), is also called in the Systematic or Classified Compilation of Dārāb Hormazdyār

18 Dārāb Dastur Peshotan, ed. *Nirangistān*, Introd. p. 2. In a MS Bāj-Djarnū and Fravashī which is in the Library of the late Dastur Kāusji Naushirvānji of Surat, Jāmāsp Hakim Vilāyati gives his own pedigree thus: Jāmāsp Dastur Hakim Dastur Naushirvān Dastur Zaratosht Jāmāsp Shāpur Bakhtāfrid. This Shāpur—the descendant probably, and not the son, of Bakhtāfrid—may have been our Shāpur Jāmāsp Shahriār—the scribe of the *Nirangistān*—and then it would be easy to understand how his Codex of the Pahlavi version of the Huspāram Nask came into the possession of Jāmāsp Vilāyati.

after Narimān Hushang, and is separated from it only by an interval of a few years. The name of Narimān does not, it is true, appear anywhere in the document itself, but the following extract conclusively shows that the second Revāyet is the *reply* to *another* letter of inquiry which had been addressed by the Indian Parsis to their Turkābād correspondents *after* the receipt of the missive dated in the 847th year.

دیگر نوشته بودند که ما نوشتم بویم کسی گناه کند و بزرگ سر قوم مانع نکند
گناه در گردن آن نشیند و از آن سبب که معلوم شد که شما قوت و استعداد
پیش آن عزیزان دسترس هست ¹⁹

“ Next you have written [to ask why] we had written to the effect that if a person sins, and is not withheld (or forbidden) by the leader of the Community, the sinfulness is incurred [*lit.* sits on the neck of] by that [leader]. [We wrote in that way] because we had come to know that those dear ones do possess (*lit.* have in their hands) the authority and the power.”

This reply is addressed to Changā Shāh, Bahrām Changā Shāh, the *Hirbad-i-Hirbadān* Khurshed *Buzurg-i-Sanjānān* (the Priest of Priests, Khurshed the chief of the Sanjānās),²⁰ Hirbad Rustām, Hirbad Hushang, and the other ‘Athornānān, Ratheshtārān, Vāstrioshān and Hutokhshān’ of Hindustan and the township of Navsāri.

The actual scribe is again Shāpur Jāmāsp of Sharfābād and the signatories are

Hirbad Shahriār Māhvindād and Hirbad Mahrabān Naushirvān both of Turkābād, and Hirbad Hushang, Hirbad Faridun and Hirbad

19. M. K. folio. 170a, ll. 13—5; DH. Lith. II. 384, ll. 10-11.

20. There can be no doubt that this Khurshed—the leader of the Sanjānā priests—was Khurshed Kāmdin of the Qissah-i-Sanjān. It is not necessary to repeat what I have said elsewhere (*ante p.*), as to the bearing of the fact on the date of the installation of the Irān-shāh at Navsāri.

Kaikhusrū of Sharfābād, together with Zindah—Razm Ker-shāsp and Bahman Asfandiār of Sharfābād.²¹ The date is thus given :

فرچید بدروود شادی ورا مسئنی اند روز دیبدین ماه دی سال هشتصد و پنجاه پنج
پس از تاریخ یزدگرد شهریار²²

“Completed with good wishes and joy and pleasure, on the day Daipdin of the month Dai of the year 855 after the era of Yazdagard Shahrīār”.

It is however necessary to say that Doctor Jivanji J. Mody has raised a doubt about the correctness of the above date. He insists that the true reading of the year is هشتصد و پنجاه, 850, not پنجاه هشتصد, 855, and that the former reading which occurs in the Autograph Manuscript of the Revāyet of Dārāb Hormazdyār (dated 1048 A. Y.) which is in the Bombay University Library is the only one that can be depended on. He declares that پنج is an unauthorized interpolation, and he believes that West who has accepted the 855 reading was misled on account of relying too implicitly on the *Pārsi Prākūsh*.²³ On the other hand, it appears that Ervad Mānekji Rustamji Unwāllā possesses another copy of the compilation finished by the same laborious scribe on Roz Hormazd, Māh Shahrivar 1061 A. Y. which bears out the reading هشتصد و پنجاه پنج. Ervad Jivanji rejects its authority, however, on the ground of its having been written by Dārāb several years later than the Bombay University Autograph. I have then to say that there is lying before me the Revāyet MS written by Hirbad Mahrnush Kaiqubād Māhiār Rānā Jaisang, on Roz Ashtād, Māh Ādar 1022 A. Y. (27th July 1653 O. S.)

21. M. K. folio. 168b, l. 6 et seq. ; D. II. Lith. II. 383, l. 5 et seq. and M. K. folio 175a, l. 13 ; D. H. Lith. II. 388, l. 9.

This Hirbad Shahrīār Māhvindād of Turkābād was apparently the chief Dastur, and great grandfather of Mahabātān Naushirvān Rustam Shahrīār Māhvindād, the scribe of K. 43.

The Hirbad Hushang and Hirbad Kaikhusrū of Sharfābād were apparently Hushang Siāvakhsh and Kaikhusrū Siāvakhsh, whose names have already occurred in the preceding communique of 847.

22. M. K. folio 175 b, ll. 1—3. ; D. II. Lith. II. 388, ll. 10—11.

23. Parsees at the Court of Akbar, p. 59 and note : A Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis, p. 50 and note.

i.e. about twenty-six years *before* the University Library Manuscript. In it the date is clearly given as *شتمصد پنجاه و پنج*. It should be also borne in mind that the author of the *Pārsi Prakāsh* took the date from an excellent copy of Dārāb Hormazdyār's Classified Revāyet which is in the Mullā Firuz Library.²⁴ Indeed, it is not impossible that the omission of the *پنج* in the older Autograph is nothing more than a clerical error on the part of Dārāb, who was by no means an unerring scribe, and that the mistake was corrected when he made the other copy in 1061 A. Y. (1692 A. C.) and restored the *پنج* consciously or unconsciously. But this is after all a conjecture, and it is not at all easy to say on which side the balance of evidence lies, and we must be prepared to sympathise with any one who regards the point as undecided, or as even incapable of being finally settled.

But the difference between the rival readings is not, as I shall presently show, of any material importance, and I must now proceed to examine the third and last of the Revāyets in which the name of Changā Shāh occupies the place of honour. It is addressed to Changā Shāh, Dastur Khurshed *Busurg-i-Sanjānān*, Dastur Rustam Dastur Hushang, the Sons of the deceased (*lit.* who has Heaven for his portion) Bahrām Shāh, Mānek Shāh, Āsdin Shāh, Dastur Rāmyār, Dastur Jamshed and Bahrām Dastur Shahriār, Dastur Nairyosang *Munajjam* (Astrologer) and the *Kadkhudā* (Patel) Shāpur, and Qawām-ud-din and Isfandiār and other Zoroastrians of Navsāri, Khambāit, Bharūch, Surat and Anklesar.²⁵

24. *Pārsi Prakāsh*, I. p. 6.

25. M. K. folio 178 b, ll. 4—7. D. H. Lith. II, 391, ll. 4—6. The Bahrāmshāh who is said to have gone to Heaven, was the eldest son of Changā, and appears to have died in his father's life-time. Mānekshah was the famous Mānek Changā, and we learn from an old *Nāmagrahan* that Changā had another son also, who bore the name of Āsdin. Rustamji Jāmāspji Dastur, *Bhagavāth Vanshāvali*, 222, Col. 1

Dastur Rāmyār was apparently Dastur Rāmyār Sanjānā—the father of Dastur Hormazyār Rām or Rāmyār, whose name occurs in the subsequent letters of Jāsī and Aspandyār Sohrab. See also *ante* p. 21.

The date is expressed thus :

بزرگترین روز اورمزد شریفترین ماه خرداد برهشتصد و هشتاد و نه
 شاهان شاه بن اری خسرو شاهنشاه هورمزدان بن نوشیروان * * * فی تاریخ
 والرابعاً ناسع شهر شوال ختم بالخیر والاقبال سنة ست وعشرون وتسعمائة الهيم
 به السويح²⁶

"The most exalted Day Aurmazd of the noblest of Months, Shahriyar, of the [year] 880 of Yazdajard, the King of Kings, son of Khusru the King of Kings, son of Hormazd the King of Kings, son of Naushirvān.* * * Finished in prosperity and good fortune on Wednesday, corresponding to the 9th of the month of Shawwāl in the year 916 of [the worshippers] of Allāh. [8th January 1511.]"

It is clear that so far as the year or the Era intended to be employed in *this* Colophon is concerned, there cannot be a shadow of doubt. The date-equation Roz Aurmazd, Māh Khurdād 880 A. Y. = 9th Shawwāl 916 A. H. i. e. 8th January 1511 A. (Old Style) settles it beyond all cavil that the Era used here is *not* the one known as the Parsi or the Zoroastrian or the A. 20 Y. In other words, we are entitled to say that we have here an absolutely unimpeachable example of the use of the *ordinary* Yazdajardi Era *in Persia itself* so early as the first quarter of the sixteenth century.

But then what is to be said of the Revāyets of 847 or 855 (or 850?). We may take it as *proved* that this letter of 880 A. Y. was indited in 1511 A. C., and not 1531 A. C., but does it, therefore, follow that its predecessors were transmitted to India in 1478 and 1486 A. (or 1481 A. C.), and not in 1498 and 1506 (or 1501) A. C.? Not necessarily, but I submit that there are very cogent reasons, which I shall forthwith proceed to state, for holding that they have been correctly assigned to the Common Yazdajardi Era.

26. M. K. folio 185 a, ll. 3—6, D. H. Lith. II. 396, ll. 9—11. *والرابعاً* is my emendation of *والرابعاً* of the text, which makes no sense.

The fact is that there is in this Revāyet of 880 A. Y. not only an equation conclusive *as to itself* but also an explicit statement which is decisive as to the dates of its *predecessors*. The writers say :

دیگر بعد از رفع دعوات آن بزرگواران را اعلام آنکه تا ایام گذشته و ایام قرک در آمده این فقیرانرا معلوم نبوده که در ممالک هند بهدینان مانده یا نه تا قبل از سی و پنج سال ازین تاریخ بهشت بهر نریمان پوشنک متوجه این جانب شد مکتوب از اشروان بهرام شاه و چنگه شاه و از جماعت بهدینان و دستوران بدینجانب نوشته بودند این فقیران جواب آن نوشته بدست نوشیروان خسرو و سرزبان اسفندیار قبل ازین از بیست و نه سال که گذشته فرستاده بودیم و هیچ چیزی ارسال هم نفرومودند و این فقیرانرا معلوم نیست که احوال بهدینان آن ولایت چو نیست عجب که اتمام دریغ فرمودند تا قبل از یک سال و کسری که یزد یار را بدان ملک فرستاده شد و آن مسکین تا خط کنهات بیش نیامده بود و چون باز آمد کتابت مبارک آن عزیزان آورد است ²⁷

“Next after the payment of our respects, let it be known to those exalted persons that neither during the regime (*lit.* days, time) of the Arabs that is past, nor in that of the Turks that has arrived, were these humble persons aware whether there were or not in the countries of Hindustan any followers of the Good Faith, until THIRTY-FIVE YEARS BEFORE THE PRESENT DATE [of writing], the deceased (*lit.* who has Heaven for his portion) Narimān Hushang turned his face towards this quarter. A letter had been written [also] by the deceased (*lit.* whose soul is in Holiness) Bahrām Shāh Changā Shāh and the congregation of Behdins and Dasturs to us (*lit.* this side). These humble ones wrote a reply thereto and sent it ABOUT TWENTY-NINE YEARS AGO by the hands of Naushirvān Khusru and Marzbān Isfandiār, but received nothing in answer thereto. These humble ones have therefore no knowledge of the present condition of the followers of the Good Faith in that Country. Strange that they should have entirely refrained

from writing. It is now a little more than a year since Yazdyār was sent to that region. He did not however go further than Khambāit, and brought when he returned the blessed letter of those dear ones."

Now if Narimān Hushang "had turned his face towards " Irān about *thirty five years before 880 A. Y. = 916 A. H. = 1511 A. C.*, he must have reached Yazd about 1476 A. U. We have seen that he had to stay in Persia for about a year to learn the language. It follows that the reply dated 847 *Pārsi* which he brought from the Iranian Dasturs must have been indited in 1478 A. C. and could not by any possibility be supposed to belong to 1498 A. C., in spite of the year being expressly called *Parsi* in one of the Colophons. In other words, the year 847 of all the four Colophons to the first Revāyet is the 847th of the *Common Yazdajardi Era*, and the word *Parsi* there used for the Era does not appear to have possessed even in the last quarter of the Sixteenth Century, that special or technical meaning which has been supposed to belong to it in *all* cases.

But if this *first* Revāyet of Narimān Hushang belongs indubitably to the Common Yāzdajardi Era, it follows that its sequel which was written by the very same scribe and was signed by two of the old signatories may, with *reasonable*, if not absolute certainty, be also taken to belong to the same Era. To put it differently, it seems much more probable that the period intervening between the first Revāyet and the second, which bears such a close resemblance to it, was the short one of eight years or the very brief one of two years, rather than the long one of twenty eight or twenty-two years. And here it is necessary to add that the argument becomes all but conclusive if the reading 850 A. Y. is preferred. For we are told that the epistle sent with Naushirvān Khusru and Marzbān Isfandiār in reply to the one which had been addressed by Bahrāmshāh Changāshāh had been written about *twenty-nine years before 880 A. Y. = 916 A. H. = 1511 A. U.*, *i. e.* about 851 A. Y., which is as close an approximation to 850 A. Y. as can be expected under the circumstances. And I may be permitted to say that this seems to

me to be a much *more decisive* argument in favour of the reading of the Bombay University Manuscript than anything which has been advanced by Doctor Jivanji Mody, and to turn the balance of evidence almost entirely in its favour.

The next dated Revāyet is the one which is quoted about fourteen times by Dārāb Hormazdyār as the Maktūb (Letter) or Revāyet of the Behdin Jāsā.²⁸ The document is not mentioned anywhere in the *Pārsi Prakāsh*, and its date was unknown to West, but it can be recovered from the Revāyet MS. transcribed by Dastur Mahrnūsh Kaiqubād which is in my own possession. The date is as follows :

روزدی بآدر ماه آبان سال برهشتصد و پنچ یزدگرد شاهان شاه بن
خسرو هرمزدان²⁹

“Roz Daibādar, Māh Abān of the year 885 of Yazdagard, the King of Kings, son of Khusru son of Hormazd.”

Another epistle appears to have been brought about the same time by a Behdin named Aspandīār Sohrāb, but it is impossible to ascertain the year, as all that is stated in the Colophon is that

این کتابت در روز اینران ماه بهمن قدیم نوشته شد³⁰

“This letter was written on the day Anirān of the month Bahman [according to] the ancient (*qadīm*) [reckoning].

²⁸ West in Grundriss, 126.

²⁹ M. K. folio 133, ll. 7—10. This is the only MS. of all those that I have had opportunities of examining, which contains a copy of the *whole* letter as it was received from Persia.

³⁰ The oldest copy of this Revāyet exists in a MS. written by Dastur Hormazyār Frāmarz Kāmdin Kukā Hamjiār Padam—the father of Dārāb Hormazyār—which contains several colophons dated in the years 1012—1014 A. Y. (1643—1645 A. C.) For the date of this letter, see folio 198 b, ll. 4-5. My acknowledgments are due to Mr. P. N. Kāpadiā of Bombay, for the loan of the MS. which was known also to the author of the *Pārsi Prakāsh*, who has described its contents, (P. P. I. 844). The questions are not classified or arranged under distinct headings, as in his son's compilation. The writer has merely transcribed those letters of which he was able to procure copies, entire or in part. I shall quote it hereafter as HF.

The Revāyet of Aspandīār Sohrāb is found in M. K. also, and the date is given at folio 133 b, ll. 13-14. See also D. H. Lith. II. 450, l. 9.

The Indian names occurring in the Introductions of both these compositions are identical except for a few differences on which it would be hazardous to base any precise statement as to precedence in point of time. The names themselves are of great interest, and I give them below as they occur in the oldest copies :

REVĀYET OF JĀSĀ.

Navsāri names.

Behdīn Mānek Chāngā, Leader (*Sālūr*) of Navsāri, Dastur Nāgoj Āsdīn, D. Jaisang Dādā, D. Pālhan Annān, D. Khurshed Wājḥā [Wācchā], D. Chāchā Wāchā, D. Āsā Dhayyān, D. Hirā Dādā, D. Āsā Rustam, D. Bahrām Rustam, D. Nāgoj Rustam, D. Rānā Jaisang, D. Wājḥā Jaisang, D. Chāndā Pālhan, D. Māhiār Āsā, D. Chānyān Āsdīn Sanjānā, D. Dhanpāl Jaisang Sanjānā, D. Hormazyār Rām Sanjānā, D. Bahrām Khurshed Sanjānā, and Behdīn Kāmdīn *Tabīb* (Physician), B. Asdīn Mehrvān, B. Dhayyān Rānān the brother's son of Chāngā Shāh, B. Āsā Bahrām the son of Chāngā, B. Rānān Jāmāsp, and B. Mānek Bahrām.

Surat names.

Dastur Khurshed Dosā Wājḥā, [Wācchā], D. Chāndā Wājḥā, D. Jaisang Narsang, Behdīn Hirā Mahiār, Narsang Rānān, and Khurshed, Behdīn Jiwā Bikā and Karwā Bikā.

Anklesar names.

Dastur Bahrām Hurmaz, D. Jaisā Khurshed.

Broach names.

Dastūr Māhiār Narsang, *Ustād* Rām Kāhnān.

Cambay names.

Dastur Khurshed and Dastūr Shāpur.⁸¹

31. M K folio 96 b—97 b.

Hirbad Jaisang Dādā was the father of Rānā Jaisang, the father of Dastur Mehrji Rānā. Rānā Jaisang has given his own pedigree in the Colophon of a Pāzand Jāmāspī written by himself in 1560 V. S. (Mody, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, p. 169).

REVĀYET OF ASPANDIĀR SOHRĀB.

Navsāri names.

Hirbad Nāgoj Bahman, H. Āsḍin, H. Jaisang Dādā, H. Pālhan Ānnān, H. Khurshed Chāndā, H. Chāchā, H. Āsḍin, H. Ādar, H. Āsāi Rustam, H. Nāgoj Rustam, H. Rānān Jaisang, H. Chāchā [Wācchā] Jaisang, H. Jhāndā Pālhan, H. Aurmazdyār Sanjānā, H. Mahiār Āsā, H. Chānyān H. Āsḍin, H. Jaisang Sanjānā, H. Sanjānā Bahrām, H. Rānāi, H. Kāmdin, Hirbad Chundā and Mānek Chāngā, Behdin Bahmanshāh, B. Mehrvān Āsḍin, B. *Tabīb* Shāyer (the Physician), B. Āsā Bahrāmshah, B. Rānā Jāmāsp, B. Mānek Bahman, B. Mānek Patel.

Hirbad Pālhan Annān was the son of the Hirbad Annā [Chāndnā] mentioned in the Revāyet of 847 A. Y. and the father of Bahrām Pālhan, who was the family priest of Mānek Chāngā. The pedigree of Pālhan will be found *ante* p. 269.

D. Hirā Dādā was the brother of Jaisang Dādā.

D. Nāgoj Rustām's name is found in a document of V. S. 1590. He was then an old man with grown up sons whose names also are mentioned *ante*, p. 269) Āsā Rustam was probably his brother.

Rānā Jaisang and Wājhā (Wācchā) Jaisang were undoubtedly the father and uncle of Dastur Mehrji Rānā.

Chāndā Pālhan was the eldest son of Pālhan Annān. His name recurs in the Revāyet of Aspandīār Sohrāb, as well as in the letters dated 896 and 904.

Chāyyān Asḍin Sanjānā was the grandson of Khurshed Kāmdin—the Khurshed Buzurg-i-Sanjānān of the letters of 855 (or 850 A. Y.) and 880 A. Y. The pedigree of the famous Dastur Hoshang Āsā—the guide, preceptor and friend of the author of the *Qissah-i-Sanjān* is given in the Sanjānā Fihrist as Hoshang Āsā Kāmdin Chāyyān Asḍin Khurshed. See *ante* p. 87. He was therefore Hoshang Āsā's great grandfather.

Behdin Kāmdin Tabīb was Kāmdin Āsā Tabīb—the same probably as the Qiām-ud-dīn mentioned in the immediately preceding Revāyet of 880 A. Y. He must have been the grandfather of the famous Mahr Vaid *i. e.* Mahr Sāyer (Sāgar) Kāmdin Āsā Tabīb. See *ante* p. 151.

Āsā the son of Bahrām the son of Chāngā was certainly a grandson of Chāngāshāh and one of the *farzandān-i-Behesht-bahr Bahrām Shāh* addressed in the Revāyet of 880 A. Y. (1511 A. C.).

Rānā Jāmāsp was a nephew of Chāngā Shāh. The name of Behdin Jāmāsp Behdin Āsā occurs in the old Namagrāhan of Chāngāshāh's family. *Bhagarsdth Vanshāvali*, p. 222.

Ustād Rām Kahnān of Broach was certainly the father of Dastur Padam Rām of Borach. See *ante* p. 256.

Surat names.

H. Rānāi Khurshed, H. Narimān Khurshed, H. Faridun Chandā,
H. Jaisang Narsang, H. Mobed Jaisang, Behdīn Bahrām Hirā
B. Rānā, B. T[h]āwar Narsang.

Anklesar names.

H. Jaisā Khurshid.

Bharuch names.

H. Kaliwā Jivā.

Kambāit names.

H. Jadāi [Chandā?] Shāpūr, H. Āsāi, H. Rānān, Behdīn Rāg[h]av
Hirā.³²

An examination of these names points to the Jāsā letter being very probably the earlier of the two. Thus, the name of Kāmdin *Tabīb* occurs in Jāsā, while that of his son Shāyer or Sāyer *Tabīb* is found in Aspandyār Sohrāb. Thus also Dastur Khurshed Dosā Wācchā of Surat who is mentioned in the first is replaced in the second, by H. Rānā Khurshed and H. Narimān Khurshed, who were probably his sons. So also Jāsā's Dastur Chāndā Wācchā of Surat is represented only by H. Faridun ('hāndā, who would appear to have been his son in the Aspandyār Sohrāb epistle. Lastly, Behdīn Hirā Mahiyār of Surat and Dastur Shāpur of Cambay seem to stand in the

32 H F folio 194 b—195 b : M. K. folios 134b—136a : D. II. Lith II, 446—447.

Behdīn Bahmanshāh whose name does not occur in the Jāsā letter—was probably the son of Mānckshah Changāshāh. The name occurs also in the *Vīrāf-i-Kāusi*. (Navsāri Zartoshti Madressā Library MS. pp. 3 and 45).

The name of Hirbad Kaliwā Vekjiv of Broach deserves notice. Rānā Jaisang says that he transcribed his Copy of the Pāzand Jāmāspi which is now in the Navsāri Meherji Rānā Library from a MS belonging to Hirbad Karwā Vekjiv Bharuchi in V. S. 1560 (1504 A. C.) We also know that the scribe of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidad written 1588—1593 A. C. (Dārāb, Pahlavi Vendidad, Introd. xlii ; Geldner, Proleg. p. xi.) which is now in the Mānckji Hātariā Library at Bombay, gives his own name as Ardeshir Mobed Jivā Vikā Ardeshir Rām. Other Mss written by this Ardeshir are dated 936 A. Y. and 960 A. Y. (Navsāri Meherji Rana Library Catalogue, Mss Nos. T 31, and T 36). It is not impossible that the Yasna Sada in the India Office Library copied by a Hirbad Ardeshir from K 5 in 920 A. Y. (1555 A. C.) may be from the same hand (Geldner, Proleg. p. ix) It would seem that Hirbad Karwā (Kaliwā) Vekjiv of the Rānā Jaisang Colophon of 1504 A.C. was the grand uncle of Ardeshir and that Hirbad Kaliwā Jivā of this Revāyet was his own uncle or father's brother.

same relation to Behdin Bahrām Hīra and Hīrbad Jadāi-[Chandā] Shāpur of Cambay. All that can be said is that the Maktūb of Jāsā was, if anything, written *before* and not after that delivered for transmission to Aspandyār Sohrāb. But the real question is what is the Era to which this year 885 must be assigned, and does it correspond to 1516 A. C. or 1536 A. C.?

Now, we possess in the Revāyet of 880 A. Y. 1511 A. C. a standard or gauge of some value for purposes of comparison. Let us then place side by side the names of the Iranian signatories of the two epistles and see if it is possible to learn anything from them.

REVĀYET OF 880 A. Y. 1511 A. C.

*Dastur Marzbān Rustām Shāhmardān.

From *Sharfābād* and *Turkābād*.

D. Rustam Shahriār Māhvindād ; *D. Māhrāban Nauseirvān ; *D. Ardeshir Mahvindād ; *D. Māhvindād Rustam ; D. Siāvakh Shāpur ; *D. Jāmāsp Shāpur ; *D. Shahriār Mahrābān ; *D. Adarbad Māvindād ; *D. Jāmāsp Mobed.

From *Kermān*.

Dastur Bizhan Yazdyār, D. Farīdun, D. Naushirvān, D. Ardeshir Yazdāndād Marzbānshāh.

From *Sistān*.

Dastur Ādargoshasp Yazdyār, D. Bizhan Bahrām, D. Mahrābān Bijan and D. Isfandiār Hūrmeh.

From *Khurāsān*.

*Dastur Bahrām Rustam Shāhmardān, *D. Yovadshāh Rustam D. Shahriār Ardeshir

JĀSĀS REVĀYET OF 885.

*Dastur Mahrābān Naushirvān Shahriār D. Māvindād ; *D. Ardeshir D. Māvindād ; D. Marzbān D. Rustam Shāhmardān ; *D. Mahvindād Rustam ; *D. Shahriār Mahrābān ; *D. Jāmāsp Shāpur ; *D. Bahrām Rustam ; *D. Yovadshāh Rustam ; D. Ādarbad Māvindād ; *D. Jāmāsp Rustam Mobed.³⁴

The above are the names of members of the priestly order, and it will be seen that *every one of the ten names* of the Jāsā list occurs in the Revāyet of 1511 A. C. The names of the Iranian Behdins do not, as a rule, possess any interest, but they are, in this particular instance, so remarkably similar, that I must quote them.

REVĀYET OF 1511.

Behdin Bahrām Farkhāb ; *Shahriār Khorehfiruz ; *Bahmnn Marzbān ; Peshotan Shahriār Marvi ; Goshāh Rustam Shahriār ; *Firuzān Shahriār (all from *Turkābād* and *Sharfābād*).

*Behdin Farrukbakhsh Navroz ; *Fariburz Rustam ; *Isfandiār Irān ; *Shahriār Kaiqubād ; *Surkhab Rustam ; Siāvakhsh Rustam ; Mansūr Khusru ; *Gurdān Marzbān ; *Isfandiār Minucheher ; Isfandiār Surkhāb ; *Dārā Navroz ; Rustām Tus ; *Giv Isfandiār ; Naushirvān Isfandiār ; Isfandiār Bahrām ; Bahrām Bahrusa ; Rustam Ardeshir ; Merzbān Rustam ; Khusru Marzbān ; *Mahr Rustam and *Saad Marzbānshāh (from *Yazd*).³³

REVĀYET OF 885.

Behdin Rais (chief) Farkhāb ; B. Rustam Faskhshutan ; *B. Bahman Marzbān ; *B. Shahriār Khurehfirūz ; B. Rustam Shahriār ; B. Isfandiār Goshah ; B. Shahriār Yazdyār ; *B. Firuzān Shahriār ; *B. Isfandiār Irān ; *B. Farrukbakhsh Navroz ; *B. Fariburz Rustam

33. M. K. folio 185a—186a ; D. H. Lith. II, 396-7.

This Rustam Shahriār Māhvindād was the son of the Shabriār Māhvindād of the Revāyet of 855 (or 850 A. Y.) Mahrabān Naushirvān whose name is the next on the list was probably his nephew, as his name is given in full in Jāsā's Revāyet as Mahrabān Naushirvān Shariār Māhvindād. It would seem that Shabriār Māhvindād had two sons, the eldest being Naushirvān, the father of this Mahrabān, and the second Rustam. Rustam Shahriār appears to have died some time between 1511 A. C. and the date of Jāsā's Revāyet, and to have been succeeded by Mahrabān Naushirvān his nephew, as the oldest surviving member of the family.

*B. Dārāb Navroz ; *B. Surkhāb Rustam ; *B. Shahriār Kaiqubād ;
 *B. Isfandiār Minucheher ; *B. Gurdān Marzbān, *B. Mahr Rustam ;
 B. Gushtāsp Faridun ; *B. Giv Isfandiār ; B. Musāfar Khusrū ;
 *B. Saādin Marzbānshāh.³⁴

It will be again seen that no less than fourteen out of the twenty-one names even in the Behdin list are again identical with those in the Revāyet of 1511, and I venture to think it very doubtful that no less than twenty-five years intervened between the two documents, as they must be supposed to have, if the Revāyet of Jāsā is supposed to be dated in 885 A. 20 Y. *i.e.* in 1536 A. C. and not in 885 A. Y.—1516 A. C.

This is of course far from being conclusive, but then these are not the only epistles which belong to the second group of four Revāyets in which the leading Behdin name is that of Changā Shāh's son Manekshāh, and the question of the real dates of all the four can be determined with some measure of certainty only when all of them are, like the Revāyet of Changā Āsā group, connected together and considered as members of a single series.

Dastur Bezan Yazdyār of Kermān is probably to be identified with the Dastobar Vizani-Yezt-ayibār-i-Vizan who lent to Shahriār Ardeshir Eraj Rustam Eraj, the scribe of the Avesta-Pahlavi Vendidād (Dastur Hoshangji, Vendidād, I. Introd. p. xxv) and of the Dinkard, his own copies of those works. Shahriār Ardeshir's own name appears in the list a little lower. The name again of Aturgoshosp-i-Yazt-ayibāri-Vizan, the person for whom Shahriār made that copy of the Vendidād which Faridun Marzbān afterwards recopied, is also found in the list. (Hoshangji, *Op. Cit.* Introd. pp. xxix-xxx). Lastly, the two names which appear just above Shahriār Ardeshir's, Bahrām Rustam Shāhmardan, and Yovadshāh Rustam are those of the great grandfather of Faridun Marzpūn Faridun Bahrām Rustam Bundār Malkā Martān (*i.e.* Shāhmardān), and of his brother Gopatshāh, the scribe of several Pahlavi codices (West, Grundriss, p. 99). The omission of the name Bundār can scarcely be regarded by those who have made a study of the subject, as a serious objection. The names of Gopatshāh (or Yovadshah), of his brother Bahrām and of their friend Shahriār Ardeshir reappear almost in the very same order in the Revāyets of Jāsā and Kāmā Āsā. Shahriār's name is found also in the Epistle of 904 A. Y.

34 M. K. folio 133 a. and b.

Let us then proceed to discuss the Irānian reply from Yazd, which is sometimes quoted as the Revāyet of Kāmā Asā and at others as the Revāyet of Kāmā Vohrā or Bohrā.⁸⁵ The actual name of the messenger himself appears, however, to have been Shāpur Āsā⁸⁶ as we learn from the following :

35. That the Revāyet of Kāmā Bohrā is identical with that called after Kāmā Āsā is *demonstrated* by comparing the extracts from Kāmā Bohrā in Dārāb Hormazdiār with the Original Iranian MS of the Revāyet of Kāmā Āsā which is now lying before me. A portion of this Revāyet of 896 is transcribed in H. F. with the heading این روایت کاسم بهره بابت folio 76a, and there is a colophon at the end of the extract with the date Roz Daipādar Māh Fravardin 1013 Yazdajardi, (folio 80 a, ll. 13—16). Several other extracts from the same Revāyet commence at folio 80b with the heading این از روایت کاسم بهره بابت است. These portions correspond to folios 207b-226a of the Irānian Autograph of the Revāyet of 896 which is in the Navsari Meherji Rānā Library, and terminate at folio 135 a of H F. At the same time, another lengthy excerpt corresponding to folios 1 to 101 of the Iranian Original begins at folio 1 b and terminates at 75 b, where there is a colophon as follows :

تمت تمام شد این روایت بابت بهدین کامان بن آسا بن کامان کهنباپی روز
اصفندارم ماه فروردین سلم یک هزار و سیزده یزد جردی نویسنده پیرب زاده
پیرب هرمزیار بن پیرب نوامرز بن پیرب قیامدین بن پیرب گوگا بن پیرب
همچیار بن پیرب پدم لقب منجانه پرستار ایران شاه یونقویو اش

It may be added that a Table of Contents appended to the Original Iranian Manuscript in the Navsari Meherji Rana Library on four leaves of old Indian paper in characters resembling the Naskh, has the following heading :

روایت ایرانی بابت آورد بهدین کامان اسا کهنباپی

The word Bohrā (بهره) is nothing more nor less than the Gujarāti 'Vohrā' or 'Vorā,' trader, metchant (See *Ante*, p. 125). The MS of Kāmā Vohrā's Revāyet dated 25-4-1042, A. Y. (1673 A. C) which was shown to the author of the *Pārsi Prākāśh* (I. p. 18) at Anklesar could not have been anything else than a transcript of a *portion of the long Letter of 896* made by some person in 1042 A. Y.

In a MS containing long extracts from several Revāyets written by Dastur Barzo Kām-din Sanjānā—the uncle of Dārāb Hormazdyār—at Navsari in 1006 A. Y., some questions from this Revāyet of 896 are transcribed with the heading (folio 293 a),

این کتابت بابت کیکاگانان کهنباپی

دیگر انکه دربار بهدین شاپور آما تقصیر نکنند از هر باب هر نیکی که بر او میکنند چنان است که بر این بهدینان ایران کردند³⁶

“Next [it is requested] that you (*lit.* they) will not fail [to reward] Behdin Shāpur Āsā,³⁶ and any kindness that is done to him will be like a kindness done to these followers of the Good Faith in Irān.”

The great length of the epistle appears to have made it necessary to divide the labour of transcription between two persons, who give their names as Hirbad Shahriār Ardeshir Iraj Rustam Iraj and Hirbad Giv Ispandiār Giv, in two Colophons written in *Avesta* characters, which are given below :

(a) پرچیت بر درودشاد ورومشنی اندر روزدی پادر و ماه و همن و سال هشتصد و نودشش پس از سال من بر اوی یزدگرد شاهان شاه شهریاران اواج بر اوی خسرو شاهان شاه اورمزدان نوشتم فراز هست اندر فرخان شهر یزد * * * من دین بنده شهراد اردشیر یرج رستم یرج نوشتم بدستور دستوران نوشتم³⁷

In another place we read :

(b) پرچیت بر درود شادی ورومشن اندر روز تیر از ماه و همن سال بر هشتصد نود و ششش پس از سال رمن بر اوی یزدگرد شاهان شاه شهر یاران اواج بر اوی خسرو شاهان شاه اورمزدان * * * من دین بنده گوی اسپندیار گوی نوشت از بهر کشور هندوستان³⁸

36. Original Iranian Manuscript in the Navsāri Meherji Rānā Library, Catalogue No. T 30, folio 101 a, ll. 9-12. I shall hereafter quote it as N M R L, T 30. See also H F 75 a.

This Shāpūr Āsā, was probably the other of Behdin Kāmā Āsā after whom the Revāyet is sometimes called, and whose name occurs in the list of Cambay Zoroastrians contained in it as Behdin Kāmuddin bin Āsā (NMRL, No. 30, folio 1 and 144 b). It assumes the equivalent form of *Kāmā Āsā* in the immediately succeeding letter of 904 A. Y. Indeed, Kāmā, Kāmdin and Kām-ud-din are all different forms of the same name³⁷

37. NMRL No. 30, folio 98 b, ll. 5-11; H F, 70 b.

38. NMRL No. 30, 144 b, l. 15-145 b, l. 14.



(a) Completed with good wishes and in joy and gladness, on the day Daipādar of the month Vahman of the year 896 after Yazdagard, the King of Kings, son of Shahriār, son of Khusru the King of Kings, son of Aurmazd. I wrote this in the blessed city of Yazd.* * * I the Servant of the Faith Shahriār Ardeshir Iraj Rustam Iraj wrote this by the command of the Dasturs.

(b) Completed with good wishes and in joy and gladness on the day Tir of the month of Vahman of the year 896 after Yazdagard, the King of Kings, son of Shahriār, son of Khusru, the King of Kings, son of Aurmazd.* * * I the Servant of the Faith Giv Ispandiār Giv wrote this for the land of Hindustan."

Lastly, there is at the end of a version of the *Ardā Virāf Nāmāh* in Persian prose, which was copied out in its entirety and transmitted with this letter, a third colophon which is written in Persian characters :

تمامت الكتاب ویراف نامہ از تاریخ دوم مرداد ماہ قدیم
سنہ ۸۹۶³⁹

(c) Finished the book of the *Virāfnāmāh* on the 2nd day of the month Amardād [by the] ancient [reckoning] in the year 896.

The problem before us is, in what year of the Christian Era was this letter really written? Was it 1527 A. C. or 1547 A. C.? The late Ervad Tahmuras maintained resolutely and with confidence in a paper read before the Society for the Prosecution of Zoroastrian Research that this *Revāyet* as well as the earlier Replies of 847, 855 and 880 were dated in the *Pārsi* and not in the common *Yazdajardi* Era. He averred that what the Iranians meant was the A 20 Y. Era, and the theory he propounded was that the *Indian* Zoroastrians in their ignorance of the same, had, while transliterating the Colophons originally written in *Avesta* characters into the Persian script, misread and misunder-

stood them. Ervad Tahmuras could not deny that in this particular instance the word Pārsi was not used anywhere, but he contended that the *Indians* had erroneously read after پس از سال what was really the Pahlavi sign for 20, as من in the first Colophon and من in the second, and that اواج was a similarly blundering decipherment of the Pahlavi 'Nīfak', navel.⁴⁰ I have shown that so far as the documents of 847, 855, and 880 are concerned, the supposition is altogether untenable, and the decisive date-equation 880 A. Y. = 916 A. H. as well as the explicit reference to Narimān Hushang's first arrival at Yazd thirty-four years before that date appears to have escaped his notice. I will now state what seem to me to be good reasons for holding that his ingenious explanation of the origin of the error, has no application whatever to the present case.

Ervad Tahmuras appears to have *assumed* that it was the *Indian transliterators* of the original Iranian Missives who were responsible for the error of misreading the Pahlavi signs. But these Colophons are in the Indian Manuscript copies of this Revāyet found written not in the Persian script but in *Avesta* characters just as they had been written by the *Iranians themselves*. But this is not all. That lamented scholar was not aware that the *Original Iranian Autograph* of this letter in the handwriting of Shahriār Iraj and Giv Ispandiār has happily survived the ravages of time and is to be found in the Mehrji Rānā Library at Navsāri. It is a goodly sized volume of 256 closely

40. “એ રેવાયતોનાં ઘણાખરાં લખાણોની સેવટ પારસી સને લખાયલા હું ધાડું છું; પણ પાછળથી અત્રેના લોકોએ તેનું ફારસી કરતાં પારસી સનેની વાકેરી નહીં હોવાથી તેમાં બુલેા ક્રિષ્ટી લાગે છે * * * એ Colophon માં અસલ લખનારે અથવા તેના નકલ નવેશે પારસીક ચન્દ્ર મુની દીધો છે—તથા: પસઅઝ સાલના પછી, ૨૦ ને બદલે ૨૦ વાંચ્યો છે અને પહેલવીના ‘નાફક’ નં બુલથી અવાજો અવાજો છે. એન Colophon એન કેતાબમા બીજાવાર જોવામાં આવેલો છે ત્યાં પણ اوج از سال من به اوی زردگر મળે છે તે ઉપરથી જણાય છે કે એ ઇરાની લખનારાઓનાં મનમાં પારસી સનેન લખવાની મતલબ છે. * * * રેવાયતો મધે આવેલા ઉપલા ૬) દાખલાઓ ઉપરથી બી ખુદલું જણાય છે કે આજથી ૩૫૦) વરસ ઉપરના આગલા ઇરાનીઓમાં પારસી સને લખવાની તથા ગણવાની રીતી હતી. પાછળથી ન્યારે કીલેલવીનો અભ્યાસ કરી થયો અને આગલા લખનારાઓના લખાણ ઇરાનીના વટીક બરાબર નપે સમજી શક્યા ત્યારથી તેમાં બુલો થવા લાગ્યા.” નરથોશતી કીનની ખોજ કરનારી મંડળીનો એકવાલ, ૧૮૬૦-૬૧ થી ૧૮૬૭-૮, પાને ૬૭-૮.

written folios, and originally belonged to the Library of Dastur Rustamji Kaiqubādji Mehrji Rānā, a direct descendant of the Rānā Jaisang whose name occupies the place of honour in the Introduction. The disputed words *من* or *ومن* and *اواج* are here found clearly written in Avesta characters by the Iranian scribes themselves and it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that they, like some others of the Persian Dasturs, had forgotten, even before the end of the first half of the Sixteenth Century, the real meaning of the two signs in the ancient formula, and that they were mechanically transcribing words which conveyed no specific or rational meaning to their own minds. Under the circumstances, it seems to me that neither Shahriār Ardeshir nor Giv Ispandiār meant the year 896 A. 20 Y., and that their system of reckoning was no other than the Common Yazdajardi one.

And here I must beg leave to invite attention to an earlier and absolutely unquestionable example of the *mechanical use* of the twenty years' formula that is to be found in the work of an Irānian priest of undoubted learning. This occurs in the Saddar-i-Nazm of Irānshāh or Mardshāh ibn Malekshāh, the date of the composition of which is thus expressed by the author himself:

بتاریخ فوت ملک یزدجرد - کر در دامن خویشتن پاک کرد
همی سال در هشتصد و شصت و چار - سفندارمز ماه ای کامگار
ششم روز آن روز خورداد بود - کزین نظم جان و خرد شاد بود⁴¹

This means that the verses were finished on the Roz 6, *i.e.*, Khurdād, Māh Safandārmad of the year 864 after the death of the King Yazdajard. And yet the writer, anxious to leave no doubt on the subject, gives the chronogram of the corresponding Hijri year in the following words.

41. Saddar-i-Nazm in Hyde, *Historia Veterum Persarum etc.*, (Oxonii, 1700), p. 436. Rosenberg, *Le Livre de Zoroastre*, (*Zarātusht Nāmā*), Preface p. v.

شتر کردمش بنده تاریخ از آن - که باشد بیابان بز پیش ای جوان
تواند رشت در بیابان شدن - شتر تاند این ره بپایان شدن

* *
ده و چار بود از مکرم که من - شتر کرده تاریخ آن درسخن⁴²

Now if the word شتر gives the Hijri date, its numerical value in the *Abjad* system is $300 + 400 + 200$, i.e. 900 A. H. = 1494-5 A. C. It must be clear to the meanest intelligence that 900 A. H. = 1494-5 A. C. corresponds to the 864th year of the *Common Yazdajardi Erā* and not of the one which the writer expressly mentions, the '*tārikh-i-faut-i-malek Yazdajard*'—the Era of Yazdajard's death (864 A. 20 Y.). It is obvious that this learned Iranian had very confused notions of chronology, and imagined that Yazdajard had been murdered in 631 A. C. instead of in 651 A. C., and that he was using an alternative form of the ancient formula without having anything like a correct conception of its meaning.

But the argument does not terminate here, and there are several other considerations which go far to establish the conclusion that this long Revāyet was written, as a matter of fact, in 1527 A. C.

In the first place, I have lying before me an old MS. in which several of the neo-Persian religious treatises which were first transmitted to this country with this Epistle of 896, viz. a Persian *Shāyest-la-Shāyest*, a prose version of the *Ardā Virāf Nāme*h and a number of *Pursesh-Pāsokh* (Questions and Responses), are found transcribed directly from that same Iranian Autograph which is now in Navsāri Meherji Rānā Library. It appears from a Colophon on folio 104 at the end of the copy of the '*Shāyest-la-Shāyest*', that it was finished in سنه ۹۰۱ یزدجردی. The name of the writer cannot unfortunately be discovered, and neither the paper nor the handwriting is attractive,

42. Hyde, *Op. Cit.* 488; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 48 a; NMRL, T. 30 folio 207 b, ll. 1-3. Rosenberg also mentions the '*Cryptogram*' *Shutur*, but he does not appear to have noticed the discrepancy in the dates.

but there is no reason to doubt the antiquity of the Volume. Now if these portions of the old Revāyet of 896 were *copied in India* in 901 A. Y. = 1532 A. C., it follows that any supposition as to the *original Iranian letter* from which they were extracted having been itself indited in 1547 A. C. (896 A 20 Y.) is altogether inadmissible.⁴³

Again, there is in the late Dastur Jāmāspji Minocheherji's Library another old Manuscript which contains the *صددرنظم*, the *ویراف کاوسی* the *زراتشت نامہ* and the *چنکرنگجہ نامہ*. It is common knowledge that the metrical version of the Saddar was composed in 1494 A. C., and a copy of it also is one of the Persian treatises which the Iranian Dasturs had thought it worth while to enclose with this Revāyet of 896. The Saddar-i-Nazm has the following colophon in Dastur Jāmāspji's Manuscript.

این کتاب صددرنامہ تمام شد ماہ مبارک آوان روز
فرخندہ گواد نیک سال اور نہصد دہ و دو * * *
(folio 81a). کانت الحروف ہرمز یار بن کا کا

"This book of the Saddar was completed in the auspicious month of Avān on the blessed dāy of the good Govād in the year 912.* * *. The writer of this letter was Hormazyār son of Kākā."

The poetical version of the Ardā Virāf Nāmeh which was made by Behdin Kāus Fariburz in 902 A. Y. at Navsāri, has this colophon in the same handwriting :

کاتب العبد ہرمز یار * * * * روز آسمان ماہ خرداد مال اور
نہصد دہ سی

Writer, the slave Hormazyār * * * Roz Āsmān, Māh Khurdād of the year 913.

⁴³ I have to make my acknowledgments to Ervad Māhiyār Navroji Kutār for the liberality with which he has placed at my disposal this and several other Manuscripts.

Now it is not at all likely that the Iranian Dasturs should have taken the trouble of transcribing the whole of the recent metrical version of the Saddar in this Letter of 896, if a copy had found its way to India before that date, and the fact that a transcript of it was made directly from this Irānian Text at Navsari in 912 A. Y. (1543) militates decisively against the supposition that the Reply brought by Shāpur Āsā was written in 1547 A. C. (896 A. 20 Y.).⁴⁴

The same argument applies to the Virāf-i-Kāusi. I have minutely compared the metrical version of Kāus Fariburz Navroz of Yazd with the neo-Persian Prose translation of the 'Ardā Virāf Nāmeḥ' which was sent from Irān along with this Revāyet of 896, and I am convinced that the former was *made directly from the latter*, and not from any Pāzand or Pahlavi version. Indeed, I have found the *very words and whole phrases* of the Persian Prose translation reproduced in Kāus's verses. Now if Kāus Fariburz finished the poem (which he wrote at the request of Mānek Chāngā and his son Bahman and their family priest Bahrām Pālhan) in 902 A. Y., (1533 A. C.)⁴⁵, it goes without saying that the Revāyet of which his prose original forms a part could not have been penned so late as 1547 A. C. (896 A. 20 Y.)

44. My thanks are due to Dastur Minocheherji Jāmāspji Jāmāsp Āsā for allowing me to examine this Manuscript. This Hormazyār Kākā was very probably a brother of the famous scribe, Dastur Āsḍin Kākā. It appears from the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvi* (p. 2) that Āsḍin had four brothers, Hamjiār (Hormazyār), Faredun, Aspandiyār and Chāndnā. Portions of a Khordeh Avesta with Pahlavi versions written by Āsḍin himself in 921 A. Y. (1552 A.C.) exist in the Navsari Meherji Rānā Library (MS No. T. 12). West mentions a Yasna Sadah transcribed in 1572 or 1576 A. C. (S. B. E. xxiv. xxxii, note), while the well-known Yasht Codex F, is dated A. Y. 960, Samvat 1648. (1591 A.C.). Geldner, Prolegomena, p. iii.

45. *Pārsi Prakāśh*, Vol. I. p. 7.

There is a copy of the metrical version made by Kāus in the Library of the Navsari Zarthoshti Madressā. The date of composition is thus expressed ;

بشده نهصد و دوز سال قدیم — که این نظم گفتیم بفرحکیم

بماء که بدنام اردی بهشت — به روزکش هست خوبی مرشت

folio 45 b.

Kāus says elsewhere (f. 3) that it was the priest Bahrām Pālhan who proposed to Bahman shāh, the son of Mānek Chāngā, that Kāus should be requested to undertake the task :

یکی پیریدی بود بهرام نام — پدر پالهن زند خوانده نام ;

Lastly, it is well known that there have been preserved, in many old priestly families, notes and memoranda relating especially to the *Disā* or *Rozmāh*, *i.e.* the anniversaries of the deaths of the members, male as well as female. The celebration of the anniversaries of the dead by prayers and ceremonies has always been regarded as a primary duty among us, and several of these *Disāpothis* or *Bārmāsiās* or *Vahis* are still extant⁴⁶. One of the longest of these (of which an old Manuscript copy with a recently made duplicate is now lying before me), will be found printed at the end of the *Bhagarsāth Vanshāuli*. From this it appears that Hirbad Chāndā Pālhan whose name occurs in the superscription of this *Revāyet* of 896 as well as the later one of 904, died on Roz 22-Māh 4, Vikram Samvat 1593 (1537 A. C.)⁴⁷. It follows that if this entry is correct, and I am not aware of any ground for challenging it—the *Revāyets* of 896 and 904 must have been *both* written before 1537 A. C.; in other words, that the A. 20 Y. supposition which would assign them to 1547 A. C. and 1555 A. C. is altogether untenable.

And this reminds me of the long list of Indian names which is found in two places in this *Revāyet*, and which is of great interest. They are as follows :

Navsāri names.

Hirbad Rānā Hushang [Jaisang]; Mahiār Dhayyān,; Hirbad Chāndā Pālhan; H. Bahrām Pālhan; *Dahyovad* (Ruler, chief of Village) Behdin Mānek Chāngā, B. Āsāi Bahrām, B. Dhayyān Chāngā;

and he afterwards informs us that the Mobed (Bahrām Pālhan) gave him a book which he studied and then wrote his verses (folio 4 b).

برقتم نشستم بودم خانم خویش — بیاورد موبد مرا نستم پیش
ببوسیدم و بر نهادم بسر — بخواندم مستنفا هم سر بسر

46. " Les *Vahis* sont des registres de famille. Le prêtre a un *Vahi* ou il enregistre les décès de la Communauté et les événements ou les accidents notables. C'est par son *vahi* qu'il peut avertir le fidèle que tel jour il a tel anniversaire funéraire de mois ou d' année célébrer. Les *Vahis* anciens sont une source historique importante. C'est sur un *Vahi* de ce genre, celui de Mullā Firoz que M. Ardshir Sorabji a restitué la généalogie des Pasturs de Bhroach. (A Genealogical Remembrancer of the Broach Dastur Family, Bombay, 1878). C'est une des sources principales de la *Pārsi Prakāsh* de M. Bamanji Patel." Darmesteter, *Le Zend Avesta*, I, cxiii, Note.

47. *Op. Cit.*, p. 240, Col. 1.

Cambay names.

H. Shāpur Hirā ; H. Āsāi Nairyosang ; H. Jivā Khurshed ; Behdin Nākhvā Āsā ; B. Bahman Siāvakhsh ; B. Kāmuddin Āsā ; B. Siāvakhsh Chāndā ; B. Libāi Kāmuddin.⁴⁸

Several of the Navsāri names occur in the old Parsi documents which were published by me some time ago, and it is not necessary to repeat what I have said there. It will be sufficient to invite attention to-day to the name of B.Kāmuddin Āsā which appears as B. Kāmān Āsā in the Revāyet of 904. There can be no doubt that they are identical, and this perhaps explains why this letter is called the Revāyet of Kāmā Āsā Khambāiti. It is probable that this Kāmuddin or Kāmān Āsā took a leading part in the affair and it appears very likely that Shāpur Āsā the messenger, was his own brother. The fact that the Cambay names in this address are, contrary to the general rule, more numerous than even those from Navsāri, lends some support to this conjecture.

Let us now proceed to the short letter of 904 which is the fourth and latest in point of time of the Mānek Chāngā group of Revāyets. It is addressed to

Hirbad Rānā Jaisang ; Sahyyār Dhayyān ; Chāndā Pālhan ; Bahrām Pālhan ; Behdin Mānek Chāngā ; Āsā Bahrām bin Chāngā and Dhayyān Chāngā all of Navsāri ; Bahrām Hirā of Surat, and Āsā Narsang, Nākhvā Āsā, Kāmān Āsā, Libā Kāmān, and Jivā Khurshed, all of Cambay.⁴⁹

48. NMRL, T. 30, folio 1 a and b and 104 b ; H F folio 2 b—3 a.

49. H F, folio 376 b - 377 a. The Navsari names here are identical with those in the earlier Reply of 896, only we have Sahiār Dhayyān instead of Mahiār Dhayyān. It may be also noticed that the name of Kāmuddin Āsā here appears as Kāmān Āsā, and that the Libāi Kāmuddin of 896 becomes in the same way, Libāi Kāmān.

Rānā Jaisang's name occurs in a document of 1576 V. S., 1520 A. C. (Mody, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, 158-61) and another of 1590 V. S. 1534 A. C. (*Ante*, 201-4). We know that he wrote a copy of the Bahman-nāme in A. Y. 915, A. H. 955 or A. C. 1546 (Mody, *loc. cit.*, 170-1). There can be little doubt that he had ceased to exist before V. S. 1612 (1556

It is stated in the Introduction that two Behdins named Ispandiār Yazdiār and Rustam had arrived in Persia from Cambay, and brought the news that a stone Dakhmā had been recently erected in that town, and that a Behdin of note named Khurshed Hīrā had gone over to the majority. Then follow four Questions and Answers and the following Colophon :

فرحید پدرود شادی ورامشنی اندر روز خورداد ماه خورداد
سال بر نهصد چهار پس از سال من باوی یزدگرد شاهنشاه
شهر یاران اواج باوی خسرو شاهان شاه اورمزدان کر نوشتم این نامر
بهر بهدینان هندوستان کر تا بهدینان خوانند کار ازش کنند ایدون
باد دیگر آنکر نوشتهای من کر شاپور آسا آورده بود کار بند آن
باشند و در این باب تقصیر نکنند * * * نویسند این نامر با
دستور شهر یار اردشیر و گویو اسپندیار شادوه زیوید ⁵⁰

"Completed with good wishes and in joy and gladness on the day Khurdād of the month Khurdād of the year 904 after [*min ba auye*?] Yazdagard the King of Kings, son of Shahriār, son of Khusru, the King of Kings, son of Aurmazd. I have written this letter for the followers of the Good Faith in Hindustan, that they might read it and act according to it. So may it be. Next they should act according to those writings of mine which had been sent with (*lit.* brought by) Shāpur Āsā and not be guilty [of any neglect] therein.* * * The writers of these letters are Dastur Shahriār Ardeshir and Giv Ispandiār. May they live in gladness."

A. C.), as his property was divided between Mehrjī Rānā and the sons of the latter's brother, Hoshang Rānā, in that year (*Ante*, 208-212). If, as seems highly probable, the order anent the family 'Inām standing in the name of his eldest son, Hoshang Rānā, was issued after his death, the latter event must have taken place before the 1611th year of the Vikrama Era (1555 A. C.) in which it was made (*Ante*, 204-8). In that case, we should have an additional reason for holding that this Letter of 904 was written in the 904th year of the Common Yazdajardi Era and not in 904 A. 20 Y.

Bahrām Pāhlan had a Pāzand-Sanskrit Mainyo Khirad written for him in V. S. 1576 (1520 A. C.), West, S. B. E. XXIV, p. xx; and he was alive as we have seen, in 902 A. Y. 1533 A. C. Āsā Bahrām's name occurs in documents dated V. S. 1576 (1520 A. C.) Mody, loc. cit., 158-161, 1588 V. S. 1532 A. C. (*Ante*, 193-4), and 941 A. H. (1534-5 A. C.). *Ante*, 243 Note.

It will be noticed that the words '*min ba auye*' and *awāj ba auye* occur in this Colophon also. The fact that Hirbad Chāndā Pālhan whose name occurs here died in 1537 A. C. seems to me to show that this Revāyet also was really written before that date, and that the Iranian scribes were mechanically reproducing words which they did not themselves understand. Ervad Tahmuras admits that the learned Marzpān Fredun has, in two colophons of a copy of the Dadistān-i Dīnī written in 941 A. Y. read 'vājak' for 'nāfak', and represented the former by an utterly inappropriate Huzvaresh equivalent.⁵¹ It is conceivable that Shahriār Ardeshir and Giv Ispandiār, who wrote about forty years before Marzpān, may have been equally ignorant.

A comparison of the Indian Parsi names in these two Revāyets is sufficient to show that both of them belong to the same decade, and that the distance of time between them cannot be much longer than that of eight years. In other words, it will not do to say that one of these letters belongs to the Common Yazdajardi Era and the other to the Parsi or Zoroastrian. They must be both Yazdajardi or both Pārsi. The *cumulative* if not the individual weight of the reasons I have urged for rejecting the latter supposition seems to me very considerable. They must therefore both belong to the Common Yazdajardi Era.

A comparison of the Iranian names tells the same tale.

50. H F, 378 b, ll. 1c—16. I know no earlier copy of this particular Revāyet. The colophon is there reproduced in Persian characters, but it appears to have been written *in the original in the Avesta* script. This stands out clearly from the fact that the scribe, Hormaz-yār Frāmarz, has written just under the word 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀, which he could not understand, the corresponding Symbols in *Avesta* characters in *both the lines* in which that word occurs. It may be perhaps necessary to say that the Iranians rarely or never made use of the *Pahlavi alphabet* in these missives, when they became aware that the Indian Dasturs, as a rule, were not familiar with it. It seems to me that the 𐬵𐬀𐬎𐬎𐬀 must have been written *here* also in *Avesta* characters, by the *Iranian* scribes themselves, and this must be held sufficient to show that they themselves did not know that it meant 'twenty.'

The expression '*Shādvch zivūt*' which is employed in this Colophon by the writers as a benediction *upon themselves*, demonstrates the correctness of my interpretation of the phrase, *Der sivāt shāt zivāt*, which occurs in the Colophon of Dinpanāh. See *Ante*, p. 145-6, note.

51. *Zarhoshti Din ni Khol Karnari Mandli no Ahvāl*, 1890-1—1897-8, p. 62.

REVĀYET OF 896.

Dastur Shahriār D. Rustam ; D. Bahrām Māhvindāt ; *D. Siāvakhsh D. Shāpur ; *D. Māhvindāt D. Rustam ; *D. Māhvindāt D. Shahriār ; D. Ādarbad D. Māvindāt ; *D. Mahvindāt D. Hushang ; D. Rustam D. Ispandiār ; *D. Anoshirvān D. Rustam, *D. Jāmās D. Māhvindāt ; D. Mahrābān D. Bahrām ; D. Rustam D. Shahriār ; D. Rustam D. Māvindāt ; D. Māvindāt D. Bahrām ; *D Ispandiār D. Bahman ; D. Māhvindāt D. Rustam ; D. Yovadshāh Rustam ; D. Bahmaniār Yovadshāh ; *D. Shahriār Ardeshir ; D. Bahrām D. Rustam ; D. Jāmās D. Rustam ; *D. Jāmās Māhvindāt ; D. Irānshāh Bahrāmshāh ; D. Rustam Khusru ; D. Gushtās Khusru ; D. Jahāndār Rustam ; D. Khusru Gushtās ; *Giv Ispandiār.⁵²

REVĀYET OF 904.

Turkābād.

*Dastur-i-Dastūrān Dastur Naushirvān D. Rustam D. Shahriār ; *D. Isfandiār Bahman ; *D. Māhvindāt Shahriār ; *D. Māhvindād Rustam ; *D. Jāmāsp Māhvindād.

Sharfābād.

*D. Siavakhsh Shāpur ; *D. Māhvindād Hushang ;

52. N. M. R. L. T. 30, folio 99 a and b ; H. F. 71 a—72 a.

It is not unworthy of notice that the names of Yovadshāh Rustam, Bahrām Rustam his brother, and Shahriār Ardeshir again appear together in this Revāyet also with the addition of that of Bahmaniār, son of Gopatshāh. The name of another son of Gopatshāh's, named Parin (Fredun?) occurs, in a colophon dated 924 A. Y. which is found in the Revāyet of Kāmdin Shāpūr. H. F. folio 255 a ; M. K. folio 77 a. West has said that Gopatshāh Rustakhm was "living in Irān between 1531 and 1554 as has been ascertained from four dated Colophons" (Grundriss, 99). This may be presumed to have been based on the supposition that all the Parsi dates in Pahlavi Colophons are A. 20 Y. He was of course aware that this supposition was only a working hypothesis which stood in need of "further investigation," and he has himself warned his readers that some Persian scribes of the 16th and 17th Centuries "continued to write the accustomed formula" though they did not understand its meaning. We have seen that though the year is specifically called Parsi in one of the Colophons attached to the Iranian Reply of 847, it is really reckoned from the *Common Yazdajardi Era*. And, seventeen years later, we find the otherwise competent author of the *Saddar-i-Nazm* speaking of the 864th year of Yazdajard's Death, without "counting the years from that Era." The question of the real dates of Gopatshāh's Manuscripts does not concern us here, but it is submitted that the facts advanced in these pages as to the actual dates of the three Persian missives in which his name occurs, (viz. of 1511, 1516 and 1527 A. C.) demand a reconsideration of the subject.

Yazd.

*D. Shahriār Ardeshir; Irānshāh Hirbad Giv Ispandiār and several Behdins.⁵³

It is clear that though the second list is less full than the first, the names of the leading members of the priesthood are almost the same. It would appear that Rustam Shahriār Mahvindād had ceased to exist and been succeeded in the high-priesthood by his son Naushirvān Rustam Shahriār—the father of the scribe of K 43. The omission of the name of Yovadshāh Rustam which occurs continuously in the Letters of 1511, 1516, and 1527 A. C. in this one of 904 A. Y. is also worth notice, and may perhaps be taken to indicate that he had died some time before 1535 A. C.

The next Revāyet, that of Kāmdin Shāpūr, need not detain us long, as it is one of the few in which the Hijri date is placed side by side with the Yazdajardi. It appears that this person was sent to Irān by Dastur Padam Rāmyār of Broach with a letter of inquiry and a request not only for books and manuscripts but for the *Waras*. The reply is addressed by name to Dastur Padam and other Zoroastrians of Hindustan in general, but no other person except the messenger is mentioned by name. The latter appears to have been either ill-provided with the 'sinews of war' by his master in the first instance, or had afterwards been robbed on the way, for we are told that "when he first arrived in Yazd he had brought with him only an empty box containing a pen and a letter, and that when he came a second time, he had with him naught else than a saddle of leather which bore the name of Hirbad Padam." In compliance with the request for religious works, copies of the *Sāllur-i-Bundahesh* (or *Bun-i-Hush*), the *Saddar-i-Saddar*, an illustrated *Virāf Nāmeh*, several pages of decisions on Religious questions as to things Proper and Improper and Instructions

as to the manner of installing an Ātash-Bahrām, and for carrying *Nasā* to *Kash* were sent with the messenger.⁵⁴

We have seen that the a copy of the *Saddar-i-Nazm* had first arrived from Persia, with the Revāyet of 896 A. Y. The *Prose Saddar* appears to have been sent now, and it was probably from this original that the curious Avesta-Persian text with a Gujarātī version was prepared.⁵⁵

The reply brought by Kāmdin Shāpur is explicitly dated thus.

روز بهمن و خرداد ماه قدیم سال بر نهصد و بیست و هشت
یزدجرد شاهنشاه در روز چهارشنبه و بتاریخ هجدهم ماه ربیع الاول
نهصد و شصت و شش هجری⁵⁶

‘Roz Bahman, Māh Khurdād [according to] the ancient [reckon-
ing] of the year 928 of Yazdajard the King of Kings, and Wednesday,
the 18th of Rabi the first, 966 Hijri.’

54. The oldest copy of the Introductory portion of this Revāyet is to be found in a MS. transcribed by Dastur Barzo Kāmdin in 1006 A. Y. (1637 A. C.) which will be quoted hereafter as BK. The reply is there called *Kitābat bābat-i-Kāmdin Shāpur Khambāiti*. The name of Dastur Padam Dastur Rēmyār occurs on folio 305 a, l. 1. See also D. H. Lith. II. 459, ll. 9-10. Large portions of this Revāyet are transcribed in the original form in H. F. folios 203 b-276 a. The extracts are said to be from the *Maktub* or *Bābat* of Kāmdin Shāpur at folios 203 b, 228 b, and 250 b (left hand corner). There are also several excerpts from the Revāyet in M. K. folios 7 b-94 b, but the paragraphs containing the names of the parties addressed and of the signatories have been left out.

B. K. folio 306 a, ll. 8-13; D. H. Lith. II. 460, ll. 10-12.

B. K. folio 305 a, ll. 8-12; D. H. Lith. II. 459, ll. 13-16. Copies of the Ardā Viraf Nāmeḥ with illustrations are occasionally found still in Parsi Libraries. In the Preface to his English Translation, J. A. Pope says that a MS of the Persian Poetical version in his possession was “ornamented with drawings, descriptive of the different subjects treated on. One of these drawings has found its way into Lord’s Account of the Parsees; into Bryant’s Mythology; and into Maurice’s Antiquities; it portrays a priest performing an act of adoration before the sacred fire, whilst a figure, representing his soul, is taking its flight to the celestial regions.” Ardāi Viraf Nameh or the Revelations of Ardāi Viraf, ed. 1816, Pref. pp. xiv-xv.

55. This is the Ms. La in the India Office Library, West, S. B. E. XXIV, Introd. pp. xxxix-xli. “The Manuscript in the Perso-Arabic character” from which, he was confident of its having been “originally transliterated” was, in all probability, this very *Saddar-i-Saddar* sent to Dastur Padam Rām from Persia with Kāmdin Shāpur in 1558 A. C.

56. B. K. folio 306 a, ll. 13-14. The word ‘Qadim’ which is found frequently connected with the name of the month in these Colophons, as well as in those of Mihirāpān Kaikhusru and other Iranian scribes, has nothing to do with the so-called ‘Kadmi’ system of reckoning, as opposed to the ‘Shabanshābi’. The object of these writers in adding it seems to have been to make a distinction between the Old or true Yazdajardi Calendar and the

The date corresponds to the 28th of December 1558 A. C. (old style) or 7th January 1559 (new style), which I have ascertained by calculation to have really fallen on a Wednesday, and it is clear that the year 928 cannot belong to any other than the *Common Yazdajardi Era*.

The letter that now calls for notice is the *Revāyet* of Kāus Kāmdin which is of great interest, but of which the position in the series is, unhappily, far from being so certain as one would wish it to be. This document contains a long list of Indian names in which the place of honour is given to that of Dastur Mehrji Rānā of Navsāri. Unfortunately it does not contain anything like a *genuine* Colophon. The date occurs in all the MSS. I have examined, not towards the end as usual, but in the body of the letter itself, in the middle of a budget of Questions and Answers and in the following *strange* words :

Reformed reckoning introduced by Sultān Jalāluddīn Malekshāh in 448 A. Y., for the purpose of correcting the error which had crept into the Yazdajardi system from the neglect of intercalation. The months and days bore the same names in the Jalāli system as in the Yazdajardi, but the Jalāli year was of 365 days and a quarter, and a regular system of intercalation was introduced which "surpassed the Julian, and approached the accuracy of the Gregorian style" (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Bury, VI. 246.). The *New Year's Day* or *Nauroz* in this Calendar was to correspond *always* with the Sun's entrance into Aries, and the 1st Farvardin of the Jalāli year 1 synchronised with 22nd March 1079 A. C. (A. H. 471 = A. Y. 448). The 1st Farvardin according to the Yazdajardi reckoning = 25 February (old style). The Yazdajardi months came therefore to be called 'Qadim,' as opposed to those of the New Calendar, which were named Jalāli. Richardson, *Dissertation on the Languages and Literature of Ancient Nations*, ed. 1788, pp. 182-3; Cowasji Patell, *Chronology*, 30. "The following account of this Reform is given by Mahmūd Shāh Khulji in his *Commentary* on the *Zij-i-Ilkhāni* of Nāsir-ud-din Tūsī. (See Sachau and Ephé, *Catalogue of Bodleian MSS.* p. 930, no. 1522) * * * Hyde (*Veterum Persarum Religio*, p. 209) has given the following passage from it:—'Account of the Era (*tārīkh*), called the Era of Malik Shāh. The philosophers in the time of Sultan Jalāluddīn Malikshāh, son of Alp Arslan, the Seljuk, determined the era called after Sultān Jalāluddīn, wherein the names of the months corresponded with the names of the Persian months, but they described the latter as 'Old Style,' and named the new Months Jalāliān. And they reckoned the beginning of the year of this era, namely the first of the Jalāliān month Farvardin, to be the day on the forenoon of which the Sun reached the point of the Vernal equinox, that is the real beginning of spring. This was Friday, corresponding with 9th Ramzān 471 A. H., and with 15th March of the Alexandrian year 1390, and with 19th Farvardin (Old Style) of the year 448 of the era of Yazdijird. And they made the eighteen days of Farvardin (O.S.) then elapsed, intercalary days (*Kabisat*); and hence the commencement of the era is called the Malikshāhiān intercalation.'" Whinfield, *The Quatrains of Omar Khayyām*, Appendix, pp. 348-9. The italics are mine.

از آن تاریخ از یزد آمد ماه بهمن روز بهمن ۹۲۲ نویسنده
جمشید بهرام خسرو بود ⁵⁷

"It came from Yazd from [or with] the date Roz Bahman, Māh Bahman 922. The Writer was Jamshed Bahrām Khusrū." It is not easy to believe that such a note could have been indited by the actual scribe, and the *form* of the words is such as scarcely to inspire much confidence. But there is another objection which is even more serious. If this date corresponding to 26 August, 1553 A. C. (old style) is correct, it is impossible to understand the following two passages in which the reference can hardly be to any other person than the messenger Kāmdīn Shāpūr of the Revāyet of 1558 A. C. (928 A. Y. = 966 A. H.) which has been just discussed.

پرشش اینکر بردست بهدین کامدین تای برسم درخت گز صادر
فرموده بودید پاسخ آنکر برسم اورورام شاید گز و انار ⁵⁸

Question—You had requested that some branches of the Tamarisk [used as] Barsam might be sent *with the Behdīn Kāmdīn*. Reply. The *Barsam* ought always to be made of some plant like the tamarisk or the pomegranate.

Again we read :

دیگر از باب زن ارمیشت بخط اوستا نوشتن بودیم بدست کامدین
فرستاده بود چنان معلوم شد که هیچ بعمل نیاورده اند * * *
دیگر چنان معلوم شد که نسا درخانر بکش میکنند بدتر ازین گناهی
وریمنی و آلودگی تقصیر نباشد و شرط جائی که نسا بکش میکنند هم
نوشتن بودیم انرا تصام بعمل نیاوردند ⁵⁹

57. M. K. is the Manuscript containing the oldest copy of this Revāyet that is known to me. The date is found at folio 220 b, ll. 1-2. The Meherji Rānā Library at Navsāri contains a copy made by Dastur Erachji Sohrābji from an old MS belonging to Ervad Jamshedji Sohrābji Kukā. (Catalogue, No. F 60). The date is at p. 25, ll. 3-4. Ervad Mānekji R. Unwāllā also has a copy of the Revāyet in which the date 922 is written not only in figures but in words (p. 190, l. 9). *Vide* Mody, The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, 64 note. The Navsari Mehrji Rānā Library has another copy also of the Revāyet in which several pages are missing, and some others have been misplaced by the binder (Catalogue, T No. 32).

58. M. K. folio 221 b, ll. 8-10; Dastur Erachji's Ms, p. 28, ll. 6-8; N M R L, T 32, p. 4, ll. 9-10.

59. M. K., folio 223 b, ll. 2-9; Dastur Erachji's MS., p. 33, ll. 5-12; N. M R L, T 32, p. 7, ll. 5-10.

"Next we had written to you [directions] about [the treatment of] a woman in child-bed, or at her period, in Avesta characters and *sent them by the hands of Kāmdin*. It has come to our knowledge that you have not carried them out at all.* * *. We are besides informed that you deposit dead bodies in a spot marked out (*Kash*) in the house itself. No offence can be worse than this sin and defilement (*rimani*) and pollution. We had also written a description (*lit.* condition] of the place where such an enclosure should be marked out, but it has not at all been carried out."

Now, the directions on *both* the last two subjects of offence *actually occur in* the existing Manuscripts containing the Revāyet of Kāmdin Shāpur,⁶⁰ and if he is not the person alluded to, it is difficult to say who else can be meant. That the name of the messenger of the Revāyet under discussion was *Kāus* Kāmdin is certain, in as much as it occurs in the letter itself more than once towards the end.⁶¹

I will now give the names of the Indian Zoroastrians to whom this letter is addressed.

Navsāri.

Dastur Mahiār Wāchā ; D. Bahman ('hāndā ; D. Khurshed Bahrām ; H. Shahriār Dhayyān ; H. Rānā Chāchā ; D. Āsdim Kākā ; D. Peshotan Chāndā ; H. Mobed Mahiār ; H. Mānkā Nāgoj ; H. Kaiqu-bād Mahiār ; H. Wāchā Shahriār ; Behdin Bahman Khurshīd of

60. The instructions relating to the *Zun-i-armesht* actually occur in the Kāmdin Shāpur section of H F, folios 248 a-250 b, (some pages have been misplaced in binding), and M. K. folios 66 b-68 a and 69 b-71 a.

The directions about taking Nasā to *Kash* are, as we have seen, expressly stated to have been sent with Kāmdin Shāpur in the Introduction to that Revāyet; see *ante* p. 310.

61. M. K. folio 225 b, l. 9 and 227 b, ll. 4-8; Erachji MS, p. 39, ll. 34 and ll. 2-7; N M R L, T 32, p. 10, ll. 12-13 and p. 14, ll. 1-4.

There is a curious passage here from which it appears that the sum of fifty *Shāhis* had been sent with Kāus Kāmdin by Behdin Narsang Minucheher and Behdin Nāgoj Minucheher to the priests of Iran with a request for the performance of the 'Zindah Ravān' ceremony and the recitation of the Vendidad in their names. A Shāhi was worth about 4 d. or 4½ d. of English money. Four Shāhis went to an Abbāsi, which according to Herbert (c. 1630), was equivalent to 16 pence. (Travels, ed. 1638, p. 231). According to Tavernier, 200 Shāhis = 29½ Rupees, (ed. Ball, I. 24, 414). Thus 1 Shāhi = 2 ½ annas. See also Yule and Burnell,

Hobson Jobson, ed. Crooke, p. 389 and the authorities quoted there.

Hirbad descent (*Nizhād-i-Hirbadān*) ; H. Shāpur Wāchā ; H. Bahman Bahrām ; H. Padam Narsang ; H. Jaisang Hushang ; H. Peshotan Khurshed ; Behdīn Toyayā Hom of Hirbad descent (*Nasl-i-Hirbadān*) ; Behdīn Rānā Hom of Hirbad descent (*Nasl-i-Hirbadān*) ; H. Shahriār Chāndā ; H. Sāyer Bahrām ; H. Padam Rustam ; and the Hirbads who are the servants of the Ātash-Bahrām, viz. Hirbad Sāyer Khurshed ; H. Āsā Kāmdīn ; H. Hormazyār Padam ; H. Bahrām Kāmdīn ; H. Khurshed Dhanpāl ; H. Khurshed Hormazyār ; H. Zāl Kāmdīn ; H. Faridun Padam and

The Behdīn of Behdīns Rānā son of Kaiqubād son of Mānekshāh, who is their leader ; Behdīn Narsang B. Mānekshāh Bahrām, B. Nāgoj Mānek ; B. Isfandiār Khurshed ; B. Minucheher Bahmanshāh of Mānekshāhi descent ; B. Karvā Rānān ; B. Mahr Dhayyān ; B. Faridun Āsā ; B. Dhayyān Āsdīn ; B. Auvā Dhayyān ; B. Dhayyān Sāgar *Tabīb* (physician) ; B. Mahr Sāgar *Tabīb* (physician).

Surat.

H. Narimān Hormazyār ; H. Kāmdīn Rānā ; H. Mahyār Chāndā ; H. Bahman Faridun ; H. Narsang Mobed ; and Behdīn Khurshed Bahrām their *Kadkhudā* (Patel) ; B. Jaisā Bahrām ; B. Kunvar Bahrām ; B. Mānek Hushang ; B. Padam Chāmpā.

Anklesar.

Hirbad Dādā Āsā ; H. Shahriār Rustam ; H. Shahriār Kaiqubād.

Broach.

Dastur Padam Rām ; Hirbad Ardeshir Peshotan ; H. Jaisang Kāmdīn ; H. Rāmyār Ādar ; H. Vikā Bahrām ; Behdīn Hānsā Hirā ; B. Āsā Padam ; B. Chāndā Pomān.

Cambry.

D. Dārāb Mahiār ; H. Chāndā Bahrām ; H. Khurshed Jivā ; H. Rustam Mahiār ; Behdīn Āsā Nākhwā.⁶²

62. M. K. folio 212 b—213 b ; Erachji MS, pp. 2-6 ; N M R L., T 32, pp. 15-17.

A comparison of the Navsāri names with those occurring in the contemporary documents published elsewhere makes it clear that this Revāyet, whatever its *exact* date may have been, may be safely placed somewhere in the third quarter of the Sixteenth Century.⁶³ It cannot, in any case, be later than 1584 A. C., as Behdīn Minucheher Bahmanshāh who is mentioned in it is known to have died in that year (V. S. 1640).⁶⁴ Let us now see if the Iranian names can tell us anything. And first then let me quote for comparison the names of the Signatories of the Revāyet of Kāmdīn Shāpūr, the date of which (1558 A. C.) is absolutely certain.

Turkābād.

*Dastur Naushirvān ; *D. Māhvindād Rustam ; D. Māhvindād Bahrām ; D. Rustam D. Bahrām Māhvindād ; D. Mahiār ; D. Bakhtātrin ; D. Naushirvān ;

63. Of the forty-two Navsari names in the address, about twenty altogether occur in contemporary documents. Of these eleven, Kaduā Rānā, Faredun Āsā, Āsā Kāmdīn, Mahr Dhayyān, Sāyer Khurshed, Hamjiār Padam, Auvā Dhayyān, Āsdīn Kākā, Dhayyān Āsdīn, Narsang Mānek and Nāgoj Mānek occur in a Sale deed of V. S. 1614, (1558 A. C.), *Ante*, 246. Seven, (or perhaps eight), viz. Mahiār Wāchā, Bahman Chāndā, Peshotan Chāndā Padam Rustam, Kaiqubād Mahiār, Shapur Āsā (Wāchā?) Khurshed Mahiār and Āsdīn Kākā, are found in the well-known Agreement of V. S. 1636 (1580 A. C.); *Mody, Op. Cit.* 148-51. Two, viz. Minucheher Bahman and Narsang Mānak, are mentioned in a sale deed of V. S. 1628, 1572 A. C. (*Ante*, 214-15); one, Toyyā Hom, in a paper dated 1631 V. S., 1575 A. C. (*Ante* 248-50), and two, Khurshed Bahrām and Padam Rustam in an Agreement dated 1635 V. S., 1599 A. C.; *Ante*, 229-32. If we take the middle period between the dates of the two documents in which *most* of the twenty names are recorded, viz 1558 A. C. and 1580 A. C. we get 1569 A. C., which indicates that 922 A. Y. (1553 A. C.) is about twenty years too early.

64. Rustamji Jāmāspji Dastur, *Bhagarsāth Vanshāvalī*, p. 240, Col. 1.

Sharfābād.

*D. Mahvindād Hushang; D. Khurahmand Siāvakhsh; *D. Kaikhusru Siāvakhsh; *D. Bahrām Mahvindād; D. Jāmāsp; *D. Khusru Māhvindād; D. Ādarbād; D. Naushirvān; D. Ainahsar Khurahmand; D. Māhvindād,—and several others.⁶⁵

The names of the Iranian priests in the Kāus Kāmdin letter are as follows:

*Dastur Anushirvān D. Rustam; *D. Māhvindād Rustam; Bahrām D. Mehrābān; *Kaikhusru D. Siāvakhsh; *Mahvindād D. Hushang; Zarātosht D. Jāmāsp; Khusru D. Siāvakhsh; *Bahrām D. Māhvindād; *Khusru D. Mahvindād; Mahrābān D. Naushirvān; Shahriār D. Māhvindād; Farrukhzād D. Yazdyār; Rustam D. Bahmanyār; Ardeshir D. Irānshāh; Jāmāsp D. Jāmāsp; Siāvakhsh D. Shahriār.⁶⁶

It will be seen that not more than *six* names are common, and the resemblances are far from so close as we might expect if the two letters had been really written within a period of only four or five years of each other.

On the whole, it seems to me after carefully considering the matter, that this epistle was written sometime after 1558 A. C. and before 1584 A. C., and that its exact date is yet to be discovered. It has sometimes occurred to me that this 922 may be *possibly* 922 *Pārsi*, = 1573 A. C., but the difficulty is that the Colophon in which that date occurs is of questionable authenticity, and all that can be safely said at present, is that the letter was written at some time during the third quarter of the Sixteenth Century.

65. D. H. Lith. II. 460-461.

66. M K. folio 226 a, l. 11 to 226 b, l. 5; Erachji M S. pp. 40-41; N M R L, T 32, pp. 11-12.

Two very brief epistles one of which is addressed to four of the leading Zoroastrians of Navsari town, and the other to the Congregation of Broach next demand notice. Neither of them bears a date, but the names appearing in both leave little room for doubt that they belong to the last quarter of the Sixteenth Century. The first of them is a letter recommending a Behdin named Faridūn Marzbān who was travelling with his relatives or dependants to Hindustan to the good offices of Dastur Mahiār [Wāchhā], Dastur Hushang [Āsā], Sett Minucheher Bahmanshāh and Sett Naushirvān Bahmanshāh⁶⁷. Now it appears from the old Disāpothi already quoted that Dastur Mahiār Wāchhā died on Roz 8 Māh 12, Vikram Samvat 1647 (1591 A. C.), and that Sett Minucheher Bahman [Mānek Chāngā Āsā Hulā]'s decease had taken place seven years earlier on Roz 30 Mah 9, Vikram Samvat 1640 (1584 A. C.).⁶⁸ It is obvious that the letter must have been written some time before the last of these two dates.

The other missive contains the replies given by the Iranian priests to three questions which had been referred to them by the Anjuman of Broach. The last of these possesses some historical

67. D. H. Lith. II, 397, l. 11 to 398, l. 18 and also II. 462, l. 7 to 463, l. 13. A portion of the letter occurs also in H. F, folio 135 a.

West (Grundriss, p. 126) speaks " of two Iranian Parsis, Fredun and Marzuban, having brought letters of introduction from Yazd to India about the year 1570 ". It is true that in one place we read of دخدای فریدون و مرزبان متعلقان (D. H. Lith. II. 462, l. 16, and 398, l. 7) but this is most probably due to a clerical error, for a few lines further down we find the following explicit statement : دیگر معلوم میت منوچهر باشد که بهدین

" (D.H. Lith. II. 463, ll. 8-9) فریدون مرزبان مردی اعتبار دار است

" Further, may it be known to Sett Minucheher that Behdin *Faridūn Marzbān* is a person worthy of confidence." The sentence occurs in exactly the same words in H. F, folio 135 a, ll. 7-8.

68. *Pārsi Prakāśh*, I, 9 ; *Bhagarsūth Vanshāvali*, 240 col. 1.

interest, and I give it below with its answer, as the document was not known either to West or the author of the *Pārsi Prakāśh* :

پرمش دیگر دستور پدم رام وفات یافتہ عمر شما باد ہر دہ دان اورمزد
است ما و شما بلکہ میان داریم و ہم ہر کسی نمیدنیم حکم درین باب
نمیتوانیم کرد از میانہ خود بنشینید آنکس کہ لایق تر باشد مقدم دانید
بفرمان او باشید کہ امید کہ اورمزد و امشامفندان قبول کنند اگر صورت
نیابد بر پیش دستوران نواری روند ہر کس کہ اوشان تعین کنند بفرمان او
باشند تقریر نکنند کہ نزد یزدان سرفراز باشند⁶⁹

“ Another question—Dastur Padam Rām is dead. May your lives be [long]. Ahurmazd only knows everything. Between you and ourselves, there is a considerable distance, and we do not know any one [personally]. We cannot give any decision in this matter. Place [on the chief Dastur's seat] that person from among yourselves who is most worthy, and know him for your leader and obey him, for then there will [be reason to] hope that Ahurmazd and the Ameshāspands have been pleased. If such [an agreement among yourselves] cannot take place, go to the Dasturs of Navsāri, and obey the orders of whomsoever they appoint, and dispute no more, for they (i.e. the Navsāri Dasturs) are exalted in the eyes of the Lord.”

Now we know that the Revāyet of Kāmdin Shāpur had been addressed to Dastur Padam Rām of Broach in 1558 A. C. and the Colophon of La, the *Saddār-i-Nathr* MS in the India Office Library, may be taken to mean that he was alive in 1575 A. C. (944 A. Y. = Vikram Samvat 1631).⁷⁰ It follows that this letter

69. The only copy of this letter known to me is in the autograph MS of Dārāb Hormazdyar's Systematic Compilation which belongs to Ervad Mānekji R. Unwāllā. D. H. Lith. II. 461-2.

70. West, S. B. E. XXIV. Introd. pp. xxxix-xl.

The question has been discussed in my paper on ' Some Parsi-Sanscrit Colophons ',

must have been written some time afterwards, that is, somewhere, in the last quarter of the Sixteenth Century. The explicit declaration as to the pre-eminence of the Dasturs of Navsāri inclines one to hazard the conjecture that we have here a contemporary allusion to the famous Dastur Meherji (or Mahiār) Rānā, in which case this very wise and cautious pronouncement on a local dispute must have been made before his death in 1591 A. C. The reply is subscribed by five Iranian priests, *viz.* Dastur Zarātosht Rustam, Zarātosht Dastur Kāus, Mahrābān Dastur D. Farrukhzād, and Ādarbād D. Māhvindād.⁷¹

The name of D. Mahrabān Naushirvān is the tenth among the Iranian signatories of Kāus Kāmdin's Revāyet. He is probably to be identified with the Mahrābān Naushirvān Rustam Shahriār who wrote K43, in which the three strange colophons with the different datings "A. 20 Y. 936, A. Y. 938 and the Parsi year 943" occur in the order quoted.⁷² He appears to have been the son of the Dastur Naushirvān Rustam [Shahriār] who was, in his capacity of Leader of the Dasturs of Turkābād, the first signatory of the letter of 904 A. Y., as well as of the epistles sent with Kāmdin Shāpūr and Kāus Kāmdin. Naushirvān's father, Rustam Shahriār had similarly been chief Dastur of Turkābād in 880 A. Y. (1511 A. C.) and his name will be found to occupy the place of honour in the letter addressed by the Iranian Dasturs in that year to Changā Shāh and others. Lastly, the father of this Rustam, *i. e.* Shahriār Māhvindād [Bahrām Dahishnyār Mahrabān] also appears to have been chief Dastur of Turkābād, for his name is the first among the subscribers of the letter of 850 (or 855) A. Y.

71. D. H. Lith. II. 462, ll. 3-5.

72. Geldner, Prolegomena, p. iii, Note.

I must now advert briefly to the famous letter addressed to Dastur Kāmdin Padam of Broach by Dastur Ardeshir Naushirvān Marzbān Kermāni from Multān on

روز دیپدین ماه فروردین قدیم سنه ۹۶۷ یزد جرد شاهنشاه⁷³

i. e. "Roz Daipdin, Māh Fravārdin [according to] the ancient [reckoning] of the year 967 of Yazdajard, the King of Kings."

Now it is common knowledge that Dastur Ardeshir came to this country at the invitation of the Emperor Akbar, and for the purpose of assisting Mir Jamāluddin Husain Inju in the compilation of a dictionary of old Persian words which the latter had undertaken at the Imperial request. Akbar died in 1605 A. C., and it must be therefore plain to the meanest intelligence that this letter which was written from Multān when Ardeshir had already started on the homeward journey, must have been penned not on the 9th of November 1617 A. C., but on the 9th of November 1597 A. C. (New Style)⁷⁴. In other words, this year 967 also must be taken to belong to the *Common* Yazdajardi Era and not to the Pārsi or Zoroastrian.

In this epistle, Dastur Ardeshir expressly informs his correspondent that the leader of the Dasturs of Turkābād or Yazd (*Dastur-i-A'azam*) at this time was Dastur Mahrābān, *i. e.* Mahrābān Naushirvān [Rustam Shahriār], and that the chief Dastur of Kermān to which place Ardeshir himself belonged was a Dastur Bahrāmshāh.⁷⁵

73. This letter is one of those added by Dārāb Hormazdyār to his father's MS, HF, folios 460b-461b. It also occurs in an autograph MS belonging to me of Dārāb Hormazdyār's Systematic Compilation, which appears from various Colophons to have been transcribed in 1049-1050 A. Y. *i. e.* only a year or two after the valuable MS in the Bombay University Library (Folios 537b-538b). D. H. Lith. II. 455-458. The date is at p. 458, ll. 7-8.

74. Blochmann in Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1868, pp. 12-15 and 65-69 Mody, The Parsees at the Court of Akbar, 17-25.

75. Dastur Ardeshir appears to have stayed in India for about a year at the most. He says himself that he had written a letter to Dastur Kāmdin Padam five months and a half before the date of this reply. D. H. Lith. II. 456 ll. 4-5.

76. H. F. folio 461a, ll. 5-6; My Dārāb autograph, folio 538a, ll. 12-3, D. H. Lith. II. 457, ll. 1-2.

The Behdin Kāus Māhiār who was the messenger employed by Kāmdin Padam and Dastur Ardeshir appears to have been sent some years afterwards on a mission to Irān, and a copy of the reply that he brought is to be found in several places.⁷⁷ The date of this epistle is given as 970 A. Y. (1601 A. C.) by the author of the *Pārsi Prakāsh*, on the authority of an autograph of Dārāb Hormazdyār's Revāyet said to have been written in 1054 A. Y., and the statement has been accepted by West. But the Manuscript referred to is now lying before me,⁷⁸ and I feel bound to say that I have failed to find the date any where in it, or in any other Manuscript to which I have had access. At the same time, the names of the messenger whom we have just seen employed in 1597 A. C. and of the signatories as well as the addressees indicate that the year is approximately correct.⁷⁹

Among the Indian names we find those of the great Dastur, Leader of the Faith of Aurmazd, Dastur Hushang son of Āsā (*Dastur-i-Mu'azzam, peshwā-i-dīn-i-Aurmazdi Dastur Hushang bin Āsā*), D. Kaiqubād bin Hamjiār, D. Naushirvān bin Āsadin, Behdin Naushirvān ibn Bahman, Kaiqubād ibn Naushirvān all of *Navsāri*;

77. The oldest copy is in IIF, folios 438b-442a. It is also found in MK, folios 1a - 6a. D. H. Lith. II. 451-455.

78a. *Pārsi Prakāsh*, I. 839 and note; West, Grundriss, 126. The MS quoted as his authority by the author of the *Pārsi Prakāsh* is really HF which then belonged to Dastur Jamshedji Pestonji of Balsār, and is now in the possession of Mr. P. N. Kāpadia of Bombay. The statement that it was written in 1054 A. Y. is due to the misunderstanding of a Colophon appended to one of the *additions made to his father's MS* by Dārāb Hormazdyār (folio 460a). The date is not found in any of the MSS I have consulted. It is neither in HF nor in MK, nor in the autograph of Dārāb Hormazdyār's Systematic Compilation which is in the library of Ervad Manekji R. Unwāllā.

79. It is said in the *Pārsi Prakāsh* that there were *two* messengers Kāus Mahyār and Māhyār Rustam of Khambāit, but this is probably a misapprehension originating in the following passage.

و بعد از درود اعلام رای شریف آنکه مقدم مکرم بهدین کاوس ابن مایاربن
 مایار ابن رستم کمبایقی بدیستانب بملک دارالعبادت یزد که بدامنم فارس زمین ایوان
 شهر است حاضر آمد

Dastur Bahman *bin* Faridūn, and Behdin Nairiyosang *bin* Jamshed, of *Surat* ;

Dastur Ardeshir *bin* Peshotan and Kāus, and Dastur Qawāmuddin and Dastur Bahrām of *Bharūch* ;

Dastur Kaiqubād and Dastur Shahriār of *Anklesar* ; and

Dastur Rustam *bin* Dastur Māhyār, Dastur Isfandyār *bin* Dārāb, Dastur Khurshid *ibn* Dastur Qawāmuddin and Behdin Hushang *bin* Isfandiār and Behdin Kāūs *ibn* *Garothmān* Kāūs (who is in Heaven) of *Kambāit*.⁸⁰

Now we know that this Dastur Hushang Asā was the preceptor of Bahman Kaiqubād who wrote the *Qissah-i-Sanjān* in 969 A. Y.,

H F. folio 439a, ll. 6-9 ; MK folio 1b, l. 11-14.

There is evidently some error here and the correct reading is “ کاوس ابن ماہیار ابن ” *kaūs ibn māhyār ibn* and that is what we actually find in “ D. H. Lith, II, 452, ll. 1-2. Indeed a few lines, further on, at the same page in HF, we hear only of (folio *کاوس ابن ماہیار* 439, ll. 11-12) and at folio 442 a ll. 6-7) also, we are told that it was Behdin Kāūs who desired to take with him some ‘Hom’. The rubric at the end, moreover, is *نمت تمام شد این مکتوب بابت بهدین کاوس بن ماہیار کمبایتی هرکه خواند و علی* (folio 442a, ll. 13-14).

It seems to me therefore that there was really *one* messenger and not two, that his name was Kāūs Māhyār Rustam, and that the words *ابن ماہیار* are a reduplication due to the copyist's eye having caught them twice in the same line.

80. MK- folio 1 a-b ; HF folio 438 b-439 a ; D. H. Lith. II. 451.

Dastur Kaiqubād Hamjiār was the father of Bahman Kaiqubād, the author of the *Qissah-i-Sanjān* and great grand-father of Hormazyār Frāmārz Kāmdin Kukā [*i.e.* Kaiqubād] Hamjiār Padam, the writer of HF.

Naushirvān Āsdim was the son of the famous scribe Āsdim Kākā. His name occurs in documents dated V. S. 1655 and 1667 (1599 and 1611, A. C.). See *ante*, pp. 231, 253.

Behdin Naushirvān Bahman was the brother of Minucheher Bahmanshāh of the Faridūn Marzbān letter, in which Naushirvān's name also occurs. Both of them were grandsons of Mānek Chāngā. Naushirvan Bahman was the writer of the interesting letter from Lāhore which has been edited and translated *ante*, pp. 220-1. His son Kukāji is obviously identical with the Kaiqubād Naushirvān of this Revāyet.

and the epithets bestowed upon him in this letter from Persia bear out every word of what Bahman has said there in his praise, and the interpretation I have placed on those expressions. At the same time, they indicate that the date 970 A. Y. (1601 A. C.) is, though *insufficiently* authenticated, very far from being untenable.

The Iranian names are Dastur Mahrābān Dastur Naushirvān, Dastur Ādarbād Dastur Māhvindād, and Dastur Zarātosht D. Jāmāsp.⁸¹

There can be little doubt that the first name is that of the scribe of K 43, which we have already come across in the Reply of Dastur Ardeshir (1597 A. C.), the Judgment delivered by the Iranian priests on the dispute which had arisen among the Mobeds of Broach, and in the Revāyet of Kāus Kāmdin. It will be noticed that whereas his name is tenth in the last, and third in the epistle to the Anjuman of Broach, it stands *first* in the present Revāyet. We may safely take this to indicate that Mahrābān was *now* the chief Dastur of Turkābād or Yazd, and this receives further confirmation from the statement occurring in Dastur Ardeshir's letter that the Chief Dastur of Yazd in 1597 A. C. (967 A. Y.) was a Dastur Mahrā-

Dastur Bahman Faridūn of Surat was the ancestor of the Dastur Dārāb Sohrāb, the teacher of Anquetil. The great Frenchman has left it on record that Dārāb was the sixth in descent from a Dastur Shāpūr who was in reality the son of the Hirbad Bahman, but had been taken in adoption by a Hirbad Kaiqubād. Mody, *The Parsees at the Court of Akbar*, 394-396.

The Dastur Qawāmuddin of Broach was undoubtedly Dastur Kāmdin Padam. As the only son of the immediately preceding possessor of the Dasturship, Kāmdin Padam was the heir *per stirpes*, but the law of primogeniture has never found universal acceptance among us, and he appears, after a time, to have been obliged to take the second place, probably on account of his youth. Indeed, it seems probable from the order of the names, that the dispute for precedence between him and Dastur Ardeshir Peshotan which was evidently the subject of the Letter to the Anjuman of Broach, had been settled in favour of the latter. It would seem that Dastur Ardeshir Peshotan was not in the direct line of descent, but he was probably the oldest surviving member of the family to which the Dasturs of Broach belonged. His name comes just after Dastur Padam Rām's in the Broach list of Kāus Kāmdin's Revāyet, and he must have been much older than Kāmdin Padam at Padam Rām's death.

81. H. F. folio 442 a, l. 5, MK. folio 5b, ll. 2-8. D. H. Lith. II. 455, l. 8. In HF and D. H., the last name only is given, but there is a space left blank above the line in which it occurs, which may have been due to the difficulty experienced by the scribe in deciphering the other two names. They are confusedly written even in MK, and not very legibly either.

bān. The name of D. Ādarbād Māhvindād also occurs in the epistle addressed to the Anjuman of Broach and is the last in the list.

The next Revāyet is dated about twenty-five years later and need not detain us long as the date is clearly expressed not only in the Era of Yazdajard, but also in that of the Flight. It really comprises three separate replies given by the Dasturs of Turkābād and Kermān to certain questions which had been sent with a Behdin named Bahman Aspandīār. This Revāyet is often cited by the name of the messenger, but it is at least as frequently quoted as the Revāyet of Bahman Punjiā who is said to have been a brother of the Nānābhāi Punjiā Mody of Surat, whose death in 936 Yazdajardi 1667 A. C. is known to have given rise to an acrimonious theological dispute in that town.⁸²

82. The oldest copy of this Revāyet is found in BK which was transcribed in 1006 A. Y. i.e. only ten years after the receipt of the reply from Persia. In this MS, which belongs to Ervad Māhyār Navroji Kutār, it is called the Revāyet of *Behdin Bahman Punjiā Ghāndy*, as appears from the following colophon:

تمت تمام شد این روایت بابت بهدین بهمن پونجیا گھاندی سورتیم بروز گوش
بملاء امرداد سال اور هزار شش بدز جردی کاتب الحروف من بندہ دین به مزدیسنان
مستور بروز قوام الدین بن کیتباد بن هرمز یار لقب منجانان پرسقار آتش و ویرام
وشتم شد در قصبہ نوساری داخل بلاد گجرات

"This Revāyet concerning Behdin Bahman Punjiā Ghāndy of Surat was finished on the day Gosh of the month of Amardād in the year 1006 Yazdajardi. The writer of these words was the Servant of the Good Mazdayasni Religion, Dastur Barzo Qawāmuḍḍin the son of Kaiquḍād the son of Hormazyār surnamed Sanjānān, and worshipper of the Ātash Bahrām; written in the township of Navsri comprised in the province of Gujrāt."

It would appear from this Colophon that Bahman Punjiā's surname was Ghāndy. Now we know that his brother Nānābhāi Punjiā—ancestor of the Modys of Surat died in A. Y. 936—1667 A. C. and that the original surname of the Modys was Ghāndy. It has been said by West, on the authority of the *Pārsi Iraksh*, (I. 15 note), that Bahman Punjiā "collected all the questions which had been sent to Iran from time to time, with the answers received, so as to compile a Revāyet of considerable extent." But it is clear from the Colophon above cited that the Revāyet of Bahman Punjiā contained nothing else than the three replies brought by Bahman Ispandiyār and their numerous enclosures in verse and prose. Others have supposed that Bahman Punjiā and Bahman Aspandīār were one and the same person, but I am not aware of any authority by which this identification can be established. In H. F. (335 b) we read

بن کتابت از کرمان بهدین بهمن سورتیم آورده است

And the same rubric occurs in my Dārāb autograph, folio 481 b. Punjiā looks like a Hīndi name, but it is also possible that it is an abbreviated or familiar form of Aspandīār.

The date of the Kermān reply is thus expressed :

روز آدر نهم ماه قدیم بهمن یازدهم ماه آلهی سنه ۹۹۶ یزد جردی
شهریار سنه ۱۰۳۶ من الهجری⁸³

"Roz Adar the ninth of Māh Bahman the eleventh, [according to] the ancient [reckoning] of the year 996 of Yazdajard the son of Shahriār, and the 1036th year after the Flight."

The second missive addressed from Kermān declaring that a quantity of *Sudāb* (rue) had been sent with Bahman Aspandīār for being used in the Gāhambār ceremony is dated

روز آدر تیر ماه قدیم سنه ۱۰۳۶ یزد جردی⁸⁴

Roz dar, Māh Tir [according to] the ancient [reckoning], Year 1036 [Hijri], 996 Yazdajardi.

The Turkābād reply is dated

روز شهریار ماه فروردین سنه ۹۹۶ یزد جردی⁸⁵

Roz Shahrivār, Māh Farvārdin of the year 996 Yazdajardi.

It is clear that this year 996 must be assigned to the *Common Yazdajardi Era*. 1036 Hijri = 1626-27 A. C. ; Roz Ādar Māh Tir 996 A. Y. = 27 January 1627 ; Roz Ādar Māh Bahman 996 A. Y. = 25 August 1627 and Roz Shahrivar Māh Fravardin 996 = 24 October 1626 A. C. (New Style).

The signatories of the first Kermān letter declare that they have transmitted with the messenger a copy of the *Vishtāsp Yasht* and *Visparad*, and they express their willingness to provide even a duplicate if necessary. At the same time, they beg that if their

83. B. K. folio 12 a, ll. 7-8 ; H. F. folio 345 a, ll. 4-5 ; My Dārgb autograph, folio 485 a, ll. 16-17 ; D. H. Lith. II. 157.

84. B. K. folio 15, ll. 2-3 ; H. F. folio 347 b, ll. 4-6 ; My Dārāb autograph, folio 486 a, l. 18 ; D. H. Lith. II. 160.

85. B. K. folio 19, ll. 2-3 ; H. F. folio 351 a, ll. 8-9 ; My Dārāb autograph, folio 487 b, ll. 15-16 ; D. H. Lith. II. 163.

correspondents possess any MSS for which they have no use, they would kindly send the same for the use of their brethren in Kermān.⁸⁶ The *Vishtāsp Yasht* MS brought by Bahman Aspandyār still survives and is at present in the possession of Ervad Mānekji Rustamji Unwāllā. It contains a colophon stating that it was transcribed by Mānuschihār Ardashir Vāhārum Spendyāt Ardashir for Faridūn Marzpan on the day Vohuman of the month Khurdād in the year 996 A. Y.⁸⁷—Similarly the Dasturs of Turkābād appear to have sent to their Indian friends a *Vendidād* about which they expressly state that Dastur Khusru D. Naushirvān and Dastur Rustam—had “bestowed it as a gift without receiving its money-value.” (*Nazar kardah wa qimat nagiroftah*).⁸⁸ This is the Iranian *Vendidād Sāda* with *Nirang* which is now in the Mullā Firuz Library and which has been described and referred to by Geldner as MF,⁸⁹. The full name of the scribe is given in a Colophon dated Roz Ādar Māh Āvān 987 A. Y. as Khusrob Anushirvān Rustam Shahriār Māhvindād Vahrām Dahishnyār Mihirāpān of Turkābād in Vilāyet-i-Yazd⁹⁰. In a second Colophon at the end of the Ninth Fargard, the scribe states that his source was a transcript made by Siāvax Shahriār Ardeshir. This second Colophon appears to have been inadvertently missed by Geldner, for he states that the copyist “does not mention his source”.⁹¹

86. B. K. folio 2 b. 3 a ; H. F. folio 336 b, ll. 10-15. My Dārāb autograph, folio 482, ll. 2-4 ; D. H. Lith. II. 150, ll. 5-8.

87. Tahmuras, *Bundahishn Facsimile*, Introd. xviii-xix ; Ervad N. B. Desai's Collection of Colophons of MSS in Parsi Libraries (MS).

88. BK folio 15 a, ll. 5-9 ; HF, folio 347 b, ll. 7-12 ; D. H. Lith. II. 160 ll. 7-9.

89. Geldner, *Prolegomena*, p. xi ; Peshotan Memorial Volume, p. 23.

90. Geldner (*Prolegomena* iii. note) says “MF₂ is dated A. Y. 987 (without the twentieth year). Now since a brother of Khusrobo, Copyist of MF₂, namely Mitroāpān copied the Dinkard (West, *supra* p. 38) in the year 1594, Pārsi year 943 after the twentieth year of Yezdegerd, it is much more probable that his brother wrote in 1618, (reckoned according to the Common Yezdejerdi era) and not in 1638, according to the Zoroastrian era.” The conclusion is of course sound but it is, as it stands, only a probable inference. It will be now seen that if the MS transcribed by Khusrobo was actually sent to India in 1627 A. C., it could not possibly have been written in 1638 A. C. The probability is thus converted into a certainty.

91. Geldner, *Prolegomena*, p. xxii. Elsewhere (*Peshotan Memorial Volume*, p. 23), he sagaciously conjectures that MF₂ must have been copied either ‘from the MS of Marzpan or Shatroeyar.’ It will be now seen that it was not taken directly from Shahriār's copy, but from his son Siāvax's transcript.

The Introductions to these replies are not without interest, as they furnish the names of no less than twenty-six Indian Zoroastrians of note in their day. I give the list below.

Navsari names.

Dastur Shāpur Hūshang, D. Vekji D. Kaiqubād, D. Barzo D. Qawāmuḍḍin, D. Naushirvān D. Āsḍin, D. Mahrnūsh D. Kaiqubād, D. Bahman D. Bahrām, D. Sohrāb D. Bahrām, D. Mehrji D. Aurmazdyār, Behdin Sett Kukā and the *Raīs* Bahrām.

Surat names.

Dastur Isfandiār D. Bahman, Dastur Naushirvān D. Khurshed, Dastur Dārāb Hirā, D. Peshotan Khurshed, D. Āsā, D. Frāmarz D. Bahman, Behdin Isfandyār Neryosang, B. Kāmdin B. Mahrbān, B. Nānā B. Rām, B. Wacchā B. Neryosang, B. Mehrji B. Khurshed, B. Rustam *bin* Kāmdin, B. Naushirvān B. Shahriār.

The exchange of MSS between India and Persia, which is explicitly referred to in this *Revāyet* appears to have been more common than is generally supposed. There is in the *Revāyet* of 880 A. Y. (1511 A. C.) a fairly long description of the contents of the twenty-one *Nasks*, and the writers add that they have written it all because they believe those books to be extant there (in India).

نصود از این نوشته آنکه این فقیرانرا چنین معلوم است که این کتابها در آن جانب هست

(MK folio 182 b, ll. 7—9; D. H. Lith. II. 394, ll. 11—12.)

They afterwards request their correspondents to send them transcripts of a few pages from the beginning, the middle and the end of every work in Avesta or Pahlavi in their possession, so that they may come to know which of the Religious works were to be found in India.

دیگر آنکه هر کتابی که آنجانب هست اوستا پهلوی از اول هر کتاب و از میان هر کتاب
تر آخر هر کتاب چند رقعہ ہا نوشته باز نمایند تا معلوم شود کہ چہ کتاب در آنجانب هست

(MK. folio 184 a, ll. 8—11; D. H. Lith. II. 395, ll. 17—8).

This request was probably complied with, and it is permissible to suppose that to this we are indebted for the survival of the Pahlavi Text of the *Dinā-i-Mainog-i-Khirad*, which is expressly stated by the Iranian scribe to have come to Persia "from the realm of the Hindus." (West, S. B. E. XXIV. p. xix. Grundriss. 107).

Broach names.

Dastur Qawāmuddin D. Padam, D. Bahrām D. Ardeshir, Behdin Āsā bin Jamshid.⁹²

The Iranian names of which there is very long list in prose and another in verse, are not of any particular interest⁹³, and it will suffice to transcribe the few appended to the Colophon dated Roz

92. B.K. folio 1 b-2 a; HF folio 335 b-336 a; D. H. Lith. II, 149. There are several mistakes in this last. I have followed BK. Dastur Shāpur Hushang was the son of D. Hushang Āsā. Dastur Vekji Kaiqubād was not, as might appear at first sight, a brother of Bahman Kaiqubād the author of the *Qissah-i-Sanjān*, but Bahman Kaiqubād himself. In the poetical address to the Indian Zoroastrians which is appended to the introduction we read

همان ويکجی بهمن کيقباد .: برادرش قوام دين باد شاد
بدستور برزوی قوام دين .: زما باد بروی هزار آفرين
که او هست همواره قايم بدین .: نیکو اعتقاد هست و علماء دين

B.K. folio 4 b, ll. 7-9; IIF. folio 338 a, ll. 14-16. D. H. Lith. II, 151. In other words Vekji (Vikāji or Bhikāji) appears to have been the name by which Bahman was familiarly known, and I may add that he is called Vekji Kaiqubād, and not Bahman Kaiqubād in the *Sanjān Fikrist*.

Dastur Barzo Kāmdin Kaiqubād was the son of Bahman's brother, and the writer of the MS I have quoted as BK.

Dastur Mahrnūsh Kaiqubād was the son of Dastur Kaiqubād Meherji Rānā and the writer of the Revāyet MS quoted as MK.

Bahman Bahrām and D. Sohrāb Bahrām were probably Desāi Bahmanji Bahrāmji and Sohrābji Bahrāmji of the Polāi Desāi family. They were both sons of the famous Desai Bahrām Faridūn. Desāi Bahmanji died in 1655 A. C. (*Fārsi Prakāsh*, I. 14) and Sohrābji Bahrāmji in 1678 A. C. (*Ibid.* I. 18.).

Sett Kukā was the Kaiqubād Naushirvān [Bahman Mānak Chāngā] mentioned in the Revāyet of Kāus Māhyār.

Dastur Isfandiār Bahman of Surat was the son of Dastur Bahman Faridūn whose name also occurs in that Revāyet, and it was from Isfandiār's brother Shāpur that Dastur Dārāb the teacher of Anquetil was directly descended.

Dastur Dārāb Hirā was perhaps identical with the Hirbad Dārāb who wrote the Khordeh Avesta Codex Pt. I at Surat in 994 A. Y. (Geldner, *Prolegomena*, xii). The 'Yasna Sāda' from Dr. Hyde's collection which Anquetil saw in Oxford at Dr. Hunt's, and which is now in the British Museum was written by a Hirbad Dārāb Hirā Chāndā in 1030 A. Y. (Geldner, *Proleg.* x).

It will be seen that the name of Dastur Qawāmuddin Padam now occupies the place of honour in the Broach list. Dastur Ardeshir Peshotan, his senior, was evidently dead and the son of the latter, Bahrām Ardeshir, now takes the second place.

93. B.K. folios 5 b-8 a and 16 b-17 b; HF, folios 339 a-341 b and 349 a-b; D. H. Lith. II. 152-154, and 161-2.

Adar Mah Tir 996, 1036 A. H. They are Naushirvān Dastur Marzbān, and his brothers Dastur Faridun and Bahrām Marzbān Kermānī, Rustam D. Naushirvān, D. Marzbān Faridūn D. Bahrām Rustam Bundār Shāh Mardān and Khusru D. Bahrām. Rustam D. Naushirvān was the scribe.⁹⁴

In the reply from Turkābād, the first signature is that of its chief Dastur, Dastur Bahrām Ardeshir, who had a son named Māhvindād,⁹⁵ for we are told in the Poetical Address

هم نام دستور ها را عیان : کر در یزد باشند گویم بدان
 مهین است بهرام بن اردشیر : ما ونداد پورش بود دلپذیر
 کر باشد مر و هم بر شنوم گر : ابر جملہ دستور ها است سر⁹⁶

I may be permitted to point out that this Māhvindād Bahrām Ardeshir is probably identical with the writer mentioned in the third Colophon of the Iranian Dinkard, which is dated Roz Avān Māh Khurdād 1009 *Pōrsi*.⁹⁷ He is one of the signatories of the Turkābād reply and he appears also to have been entrusted with the task of actually inditing it. He says so himself in the poetical address appended to the letter from which we further learn that his great grandfather's name was identical with his own. In other words, his full name was Māhvindād Bahrām Ardeshir Māhvindād.⁹⁸

I must now advert to a letter which is not included in the classified compilation of Dārāb Hormazdyār, which was unknown to

94. BK folio 19 a, ll. 4-7; HF folio 351 a, ll. 9-12; D. H. Lith. II. 162, ll. 15-17.

We have here the name of the famous scribe Marzpān Faridūn, who gives a long pedigree. Dastur Naushirvān Marzbān's verse translations of the Ardā Virāf Nāmeh (Pope, *Loc. Cit.* p. xiv, Hōshangji and Haug, *Book of Ardā Virāf*, Introd. xx) and various other tales and episodes are familiar to students of the Revāyets. He appears to have had two brothers named Faridūn and Bahrām.

95. BK, folio 16 b, l. 12; HF, folio 349 a, l. 9; D. H. Lith. II. 161. The name of his son Mahvindād Bahrām is the sixth in the list, which is a very long one, but which does not contain any other names which can be identified.

96. BK, folio 5 b, ll. 7-9; HF, folio 339 a, ll. 11-13; D. H. Lith. II. 152.

97. West, S. B. E. XXXVII, Introd. p. xxxvi.

98. BK, folio 16 a and b; HF, folio 348b-349a; D. H. Lith. II. 161.

the author of the *Pārsi Prakāśh* and also to E. W. West, and which has not been referred to in any account of the Revāyets with which I am acquainted. It is found in the old MS dated 1006 A. Y. in the handwriting of Dastur Barzo Kāmdin which I have so often quoted. This interesting epistle is addressed by name to Dastur Qawāmuḍḍin bin Padam bin Rāmyār and Behdin Asā Jamshed both of Bharūch, and other Zoroastrian residents of Navsāri and Surat generally. It is the reply to a communication addressed to the Dasturs of Irān about two years previously by Hirbad Bahrām the son of Dastur Qawāmuḍḍin [Padam]. In the interval, another missive penned by Farid[ūn] Jamshed, the daughter's son (*dukhtarzādeh*) of Dastur Qawāmuḍḍin had been sent by the hands of two Behdins named Rustam Surkhāb and Māhvindād Isfandiār. The Iranians now acknowledge receipt of both the epistles and their reply is dated

بتاریخ ۴ اردیبهشت ماه قدیم سنه ۱۰۰۵ یزد جردی موافق دوشنبه
شهر جمادی الثانی ۱۰۴۵ هجری

"The fourth of the Month of Ardibehesht (according to] the ancient [reckoning] of the year 1005 Yazdajardi, corresponding to Monday [the 10th] of Jumādā II 1045 Hijri [11th November 1635, Old Style]."⁹⁹

The Iranians inform their Indian correspondents that their country had been visited in A. H. 1041 [1631-2 A. C.] by a famine which had lasted for two years and that it had been subsequently devastated by an epidemic. They further declare that in 997 Yazdajardi [1628 A. C.] and during the reign of Shāh Abbās, the Dasturs of Irān had suffered such tribulation as was indescribable by tongue or pen, and that two of them had been killed and lost their lives in consequence. The *Jāmāspnāmeh* and several other religious works had been taken away by force from them, and they were persecuted

99. BK. folio 270 a — 272 a. For the date see folio 272 a, ll. 13—15.

because still more books were demanded though they had none to give. The writers afterwards acknowledge the receipt of a *qā'imkhāni* (?) and the sum of a thousand dinars out of the offerings presented to the Ātash Bahrām (*mablagh-i-yak hazār dinār az nisār-i-Ātash-warahrām*), which had been sent as a present to the Chief Dastur (*Dastur-i-Zamān*) with a Behdin named Mahrnūsh who had arrived in Shirāz from Gujarāt. The letter is signed by that dignitary, who calls himself, 'Dastur Bahrām Dastur Ardeshir, resident of Turk ā-bād,' and adds a postscript to the effect that no letter which does not bear his own seal should be regarded as genuine.¹⁰⁰

These particulars concerning the unhappy condition of our Iranian brethren and their friendly relations with our own people are both new and interesting, but there is in this missive a passage which is of even greater significance, and which deserves in consequence to be given in the original.

دیگر پرسیده بودند در باب ماه قدیم که یکماه درمیان ایران و هند تفاوت است اگر ایشانرا بخاطر است که درین مدتها بخاطر رفته و ماه را مهو کرده اند حال بطریق ایران ماه نگر دارند و اگر از قدیم الاعیان بایشان رسیده همچنان نگاه دارند تا آمدن ورجاوند¹⁰¹

"Further, they had asked a question in reference to the Ancient [Zoroastrian] Months, [and said] that there was a difference of one month between [the reckoning of] Persia and Hindustān. If they are sure that one month has passed out of their minds, and that they have missed a month during the years that have elapsed (*mu ddat-ha*), they may now observe the months according to the Iranian method [*i.e.* adopt the Iranian reckoning]. But if that [reckoning] has descended to them from ancient times, they may allow it to remain until the coming of [Bahrām] Varjāvand."

100. BK, folio 271 b - 272 a.

101. BK, folio 271 a, ll. 6—10.

This explicit pronouncement in a letter written in 1005 A. Y. (1635 A. C.) demonstrates the erroneousess of a notion which is almost universally prevalent even among well-informed Zoroastrians, and which has been sealed with the sanction of all writers on the history of our people. That notion is that the Indian Parsis were altogether ignorant of the difference existing between the Indian and Iranian calendar until the arrival of Dāstur Jāmāsp Hakim Vilāyati in 1091 A. Y. (1722 A.C.)¹⁰². Now it stands out clearly from this passage that it had arrested the attention of the priests of Broach so early as 1635 A. C., *i.e.* more than eighty-six years before Jāmāsp's visit and supposed discovery. It is further deserving of notice that Dastur Bahrām Ardeshir—the High priest of all Irān in his day—had with a broad-minded disregard for a small difference which he appears with great sagacity to have attributed to some local *variation* existing in the old Iranian system itself, pronounced an opinion of which the wisdom was proved but too clearly by the strife and discord which resulted afterwards from the adoption of a different course.

102. *Pārsi Prakāśh*, I, 23, Dosābhāi Frāmji, History of the Pāsis, ed. 1858, p. 58; ed. 1884, I. 106-7.

Mullā Firuz, *Avijeh Din*, p. 13; Bombay Gazetteer, XIII. Pt. i., 255.

See Geldner, *Prolegomena*, vii. note for the dates of Jāmāsp's arrival and departure.

There is yet another epistle addressed in this year, 1005 A. Y. (1635-6 A. C.) to the Zoroastrians of Surat, Broach and Navsāri, which has also remained unnoticed, though a copy of it exists in a Manuscript in the Navsari Meherji Rānā Library. Its writer Ispandīār Rustam of Kermān acknowledges a letter from the Zoroastrians in India which had been brought by a Behdin named Peshotan, and in which some reference had been made to the famine and plague which had been raging some time before in Gujarāt. It would appear that during that period of stress, a Parsi of the name of Shāpur had gone from India to Fārs and become the slave of some Musalmān who had put out his eyes and now demanded seven Tomāns as his ransom. This amount was paid, and poor Shāpur was emancipated and adopted as his own son by the good Peshotan, who was anxious to return at once from Hormuz to Surat whence he had come by sea. But the sailing season had passed, and the two strangers had to tarry for some time with their brethren of Kermān. The devotion and prayerfulness of Peshotan are very warmly commended by the writer of the epistle who congratulates the entire Zoroastrian Congregation of Surat on their faithful observance of the dictates of the religion. There is in this letter also an unmistakable allusion to the difference between the Iranians and ourselves in the matter of the Rōz Māh, which further indicates that the Parsis of Surat also were not ignorant of its existence. The writer gives the names of the twelve old (*qadīm*) Zoroastrian months and the five Gāthās, and gives a date-equation for the guidance of his correspondents and the resolution of their doubts, in the following words :

و در تاریخ ماها درینجانب در سال نوروز قدیم گذشت اورمزد روز اول
روز قدیم سنه ۱۰۰۵ و خورداد روز آخر نوروز بتاریخ عربیه که در تقویم جلالی
قیداست ابان ماه جلالی و روز جمعه و هفتم شهر جمادی الاول سنه ۱۰۴۵
عرض اگر تفاوت دارد پیروی نمایند

"And in our calendar on this side, in the last year, the Nauroz [according to] the ancient [reckoning], of which the first day was Roz Aurmazd, and the last day Roz Khurdād of the year 1005, fell, according to the Arabian reckoning established in the Jalālī almanac, in the month of Abān Jalālī, and it (*i.e.* the Nauroz or first day of A. Y. 1005) [corresponded to] Thursday, the 7th of Jumādā I of the year 1045 [Hijri]. It is requested that if there is any difference, they should see to it (*i.e.* correct it)".¹⁰³

In other words, the writer declares that according to the Iranian reckoning the first day of Nauroz, *i.e.* 1st Fravardin, 1005 A.Y. = 7th Jumādā I, 1045 Hijri [9th October 1635 A. C. Old Style], and that if the first day of the Indian Nauroz or 1st Fravardin had not coincided with the 7th Jumādā I, 1045, A. H. they were to be sure that there was some discrepancy, and look to it. It is clear that this explanation and equation would have been absolutely uncalled for, if the attention of the Zoroastrians in India had not been arrested by the difference

103. N. M. R. L. Revāyet MS. T. 32, pp. 53, 60. The date-equation occurs at p. 58, ll. 7-10.

The famine occurred in the third and fourth years of the reign of the Emperor Shāh Jahān (1629-30 A. C.), and it is referred to in all the Mughal Chronicles. "During the past year," says the author of the *Bādshāhnāmāh*, "no rain had fallen in the territories of the Balāghāt and the drought had been especially severe about Daulatabad. In the present year also [the fourth of the reign], there had been a deficiency in the bordering countries, and a *total want in the Dakkhin and Gujarāt*. The inhabitants of these two countries were reduced to the direst extremity." Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, VII. 24. See also Khāfi Khān, *Bibl. Ind.* ed. I. 444-449.

Tavernier tells us that the "months of November and December, January, February and March were the only months of the year in which one embarks at Hormuz for Surat or at Surat for Hormuz; with this difference, however, that one rarely leaves Surat later than the end of February; but for leaving Hormuz one may wait till the end of March, and even till the 15th of April, because then the Western wind which brings the rains to India begins to blow." *Travels*, ed. Ball, I. 4-5.

between their own Roz Māh and the Iranian. It is scarcely necessary to say that the year 1005 A. Y. in which both these epistles were indited cannot be assigned to any other than the *Common Yazdajardi* Era.

After these two missives, we have an epistle brought by a Behdin named Shahriār Rustam Sandal (or Jandel) to the address of Dastur Barzo Kāmdin Kaiqubād. It is dated Roz Bahrām, Māh Ardibehesht 1019 Yazdajardi.¹⁰⁴ But this is not the only Revāyet that was addressed directly by the Iranian Dasturs to the learned Barzo whose reputation appears, as I have shown elsewhere, to have been much less circumscribed than that of other erudite Zoroastrians of his day. We learn from a much longer communication dated three or four years later,¹⁰⁵ that Dastur Barzo Kāmdin had addressed from the

104. Dastur Barzo Kāmdin's Revāyet MS in the Mullā Firuz Library, Rehatssek's Catalogue, VIII. 2, pp. 392-4. There is a copy of this Revāyet in the handwriting of Dastur Erachji in the Navsāri Meherji Rānā Library also. Catalogue, No. F. 48. This letter of 1019 A. Y. occurs at pp. 360-1. The notice of this Revāyet in the *Pārsi Prakāsh* (I. 14) is inaccurate in some points. The name of the messenger was not Rustam Jandel, but *Shahriār* Rustam Sandal. The Iranians do not say that "there had been a severe famine in Persia for the last two years" (West in *Grundriss*, 127), but that "in the year 1041 Hijri (1631-2 A. C.), a famine had occurred in the Kingdom of Persia, which had lasted for two years, that it had been followed by sickness and plague and that many men had died."

در تاریخ هزار و چهل و یک هجری گرانى در ملك ايران اوفتاد و دوسال
اثر آن بود و ديگر بر بيماري و مركي كشيده و بسيار مردم وفات نمودند

They then repeat the statement about the Zoroastrians having been persecuted in the reign of Shāh Abbās I. in the year 997 A. Y., and forced to give up the copies of the *Jāmāspnāmah* etc. The writer gives his name as Behdin Mullā Minucheher Mullā Siāvakhsh inucheher of Kermān.

105. This letter is one of those added by Dārāb Hormazdyār to his father's MS, which I have called H.F. (pages A to O). It is transcribed in MK also at the end by an unknown hand (folios 267 a to 283 b). It occurs, besides, in the N. M. R. L. MS T. 32, pp. 31-53 and in D. H. Lith. II. 430-446.

"township of Navsāri in Gujarāt" a budget of doubts and difficulties to the Dasturs of Yazd, Kermān and Isfahān in A. Y. 1015. The messenger employed was an Iranian named Bahrām Mahrbān Yazdī. To these interrogatories which had been received seven or eight years before the date of the reply under discussion (*qarib-i-haft wa hasht sāl pish az in*)¹⁰⁶, the Iranians declare that they had been unable to give any answers on account of certain adverse circumstances (*Hādīsa-i-rūs*). Meanwhile Dastur Barzo had sent another letter in which his old questions were reiterated with but small differences, and the Iranians now take them together and answer them all. This second Revāyet associated with the name of Barzo Kāmdin is unfortunately not precisely dated, but there can be little doubt as to the time at which it was written. The original Letter of Inquiry had been, as we are expressly told, penned about 1015 Yazdajardi in India, in which the *Common* Yazdajardi Era and no other was ever employed by our people, and it seems to me that the reply also may be safely assigned to 1022-1023 of the *Common* Yazdajardi Era, *i. e.* to 1653-1654 A. C.

This letter is signed by about eleven Iranian priests and the scribe Bahrām Dastur Mahrbān Sūraki tells us that he has written it under the orders of *Dastur-i-Zamān*, *Dastur-i-Dasturān* Dastur Māvindād Dastur Bahrām Dastur Ardeshir.¹⁰⁷

There can be little doubt that this Māvindād Bahrām Ardeshir was the son of that Bahrām Ardeshir who is mentioned as the Chief Dastur of Turkābād in the Revāyets of Bahman Aspandīār

106. MK, folio 267 b, ll. 1-6; HF, Additional page A, ll. 8-10 and page O, ll. 4-11: N M R L MS T. 32, p. 32, ll. 4-6. D. H. Lith. II. 431, ll. 1-8 and 445, ll. 4-6. The persons with whom Dastur Barzo sent a duplicate copy of his first letter are also named. They were two Irānis named Ardeshir Shahriār Yazdi and Shahriār Rustam Kermāni. D. H. Lith. II. 445, ll. 5-6. HF, page O, ll. 7-8.

107. M. K. folio 283 a, ll. 1-4. H. F. Additional page O, ll. 13-14. D. H. Lith. II. 445, ll. 12-13.

(996 A. Y.) as well as in the letter of 1005 A. Y. It is scarcely necessary to repeat that the Third Colophon of the Iranian Dinkard was written by this Mavindād Bahrām, who is now seen to have been alive in 1653-4 A. C. His name occurs, as I have shown, among the signatories of the Turkābād Reply in Bahman Aspandīār's Revāyet 996 A. Y. = 1626 A. C.) as well as in the poetical address appended to it. Whether the 1009 *Parsi* of the Dinkard Colophon must be computed as 1639 A. C. or 1659 A. C. is a matter which does not concern us here. The names of the other signatories of this Revāyet are not of much interest but they are given below :

Dastur Bahrām D. Māvindād Dastur-i-Dasturān, D. Bahrām D. Mahrabān ; D. Māvindād D. Rustam ; D. Bakhtāfrin D. Jāmāsp ; D. Khusru D. Faridūn ; D. Bahrām D. Mahrābān Sūraki ; D. Ardeshir D. Mahrābān ; D. Kusrū D. Māvindād ; D. Mahrābān D. Naushirvān ; D. Bahrām D. Bahrāmshāh ; D. Shahriār D. Buzurg-Umid.¹⁰⁸

Two other well known Revāyets owe their existence to a dispute which arose in the town of Surat on the subject of a Dakhma which the wealthy Behdīn Nānābhāi Punjiā had undertaken to erect with a view to its being for the *first* time used for the disposal of his own body at death. That event occurring before the completion of the building, the corpse was preserved in the old Dakhma for two months and then consigned to the New Tower. The ceremonial propriety of this procedure was the subject of a fierce controversy in Surat, and the matter was at last referred to the Dasturs of Irān for their opinion. The reply of the priests of Kermān is addressed to the 'renowned and greatest Dastur' (*Dastur-i-Muq̄zzam-i-nāmdār*) Rustam Peshotan and Behdīn Kuvarji, Behdīn Hirji and Hirbad Barzo *bin*

108. MK, folio 283 a, ll. 7-15. H.F. Additional page O, ll. 16-21. N. M. R. L. T. p. 52, ll. 6-14. D. H. Lith. II, 445, ll. 15-19.

Ādarbād of Surat.¹⁰⁹ The signatories are Rustam Dastur Ardeshir, Mahrbān D. Rustam Mahrbān, Rustam D. Minucheher, Bahmanyār D. Naushirvān, Marzbān D. Bahrām Marzbān, Khwājah Khusru Bundār Faridun, and Mahrbān D. Naushirvān Āzar.¹¹⁰ The letter is not dated, but we know from an old Disāpothi that Nānābhāi Punjiā died on Roz Ahūramazd Māh Khurdād 1036 A. Y.¹¹¹ (9th January 1667, New Style), and it may be safely said that the decision of the Kermān theologians was pronounced about 1668 A. C.

This conclusion is borne out by another missive on the same subject which is quoted as the *Maktūb-i-Suratiā Adhyāru* (Letter to the Surat priests), and is addressed by name to Dastur Barzo Qawā-muddīn, Hirbad Pālhan Faridun, Dastur Rustam Khurshed, Hirbad Rustam Peshotan, Behdin Hirji Nānābhāi, B. Nānābhāi Narsang, Behdin Kuvarji Bahrām and B. Kuvarji Nānābhāi and B. Dhanji Bahrām Bharūchi.¹¹²

The writers declare that Hirbad Rustam Khurshed Isfandiār had addressed to them a communication on the subject of the New Dakhma on Roz Ādar Māh Khurdād 1038 A. Y., and that they had already given their opinion on the questions put to them. The present reply

109. This letter occurs in IIF, folio 458 b-460 a, in my Dārāb Autograph, folio 533 b-535 a, N M R L, T. 32, pp. 60-67, and in D. H. Lith. II. 470-474.

This Rustam Peshotan was probably Rustam Peshotan Hamjiār, the author of the *Siāva-nameh* etc. See *ante*, p. 236 note.

Behdins Kuvarji and Hirji were, as we learn from this Revāyet itself, the sons of the deceased Nānābhāi Punjiā.

The Mullā Firuz Library possesses a Khurdah Avesta MS written in 1159 A. Y. (1790 A. C.) by a Mobed Khurshed Edal Rustam Kāmdin *Barzo Ādarbād* Kaiqubād Māhyār of Surat. (Dhābar's Descriptive Catalogue of Avesta, Pahlavi and Pāzand MSS. No. 22).

110. HF, folio 460 a; my Dārāb autograph, folio 535 b; N M R L T. 32, p. 67; D. H. Lith. II. 474.

111. *Pārsi Prakash*, I. 15.

112. HF, folios 455 a-458 b; my Dārāb autograph, folios 535 b-537 b; D. H. Lith. II. 475-480. This Rustam Khurshed is the Rustam Khurshed Aspandiār who is mentioned again in the next paragraph. He was the grandson of Dastur Aspandiār Bahman of Surat who is mentioned in the Revāyets of 1626-7, and great-grandson of the Dastur Bahman Faridūn of Surat whose name occurs in the Revāyet of Kāus Mahyār. The names of Behdins Nānābhāi Narsangji and Kuvarji Bahrām occur in a document dated Roz 15-8-Samvat 1741 (6 June 1685). *Pārsi Prakash*, I. 18-19.

which contains their answers to several other points of ritual and dogma is dated

روز دیپدین فیروز گرمه فرخ دی قدیمیر سنه ۱۰۳۹ فارسی تحریر شد
شهر ربیع الاول سنه ۱۰۸۱ هجری در شهر کرمان نوشته شد¹¹³

"Roz Daipadin the triumphant, of the auspicious month Dai [according to] the ancient [reckoning] of the *Fārsi* year 1039. Written on [11th] of the month of Rabī the first, of the year 1081 Hijri. Written in the town of Kermān."

The date equation Roz Daipadin Māh Dai 1039 *Fārsi* = 11th Rabi I. 1081 A. H. (= 29 July 1670, New Style) demonstrates that the year 1039 must be assigned to the *Common Yazdajardi Era*, although it is expressly called *Fārsi* (i. e. *Pārsi*).

Several other letters were received in India from the Iranian priests after this *Maktūb*, but it is the latest of those included in the Classified Compilation of Dārāb Hormazdyār of which there is an autograph dated only nine years later, (1048 A. Y.) in the Bombay University Library, and another transcribed a year or two afterwards, in my own possession. I do not propose to speak of these missives at any length. They were written after the use of the *Common Yazdajardi Era* had been firmly established in Iran, and they are of no great interest besides. Some of them are mentioned in the *Pārsi Prakāsh* and in West's list in the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, but I have in the course of these researches, found two or three others which were known to neither of them.

A Manuscript in the Navsārī Meherji Rānā Library contains a copy of an epistle dated Roz Bahrām (or Bahman), Māh Mahr, 1050 A. Y. It is the reply of the Dasturs of Turkābād, Sharfābād and Isfahān to an Indian missive written on Roz Fravardin, Māh

113. My Dārāb autograph, folio 537 a ; D. H. Lith. II. 480.

Fravardin, 1048 A. Y. Eight questions relating to ceremonial matters are answered, and there is a long list of Iranian names at the end. The first signature is that of Dastur Bahrām Dastur Māhvindād Rustam Anushirvān Turkābādy. He was probably the chief Dastur of Turkābād at the time, and there need be no hesitation in identifying him with the writer of the fourth and fifth colophons of the Iranian MS of the Dinkard.¹¹⁴ The letter must have been written in the 1050th year of the *Common* Yazdajardi Era, as it is scarcely likely that the Iranian reply to an Indian missive of 1048 A. Y. (1679 A. C.) could have been written *twenty-two years* afterwards in 1050 A. 20 Y. (1701 A. C.).

A letter addressed by the Iranian priests to Dastur Jāmāsp Āsā of Navsari in reply to some interrogatories transmitted by him to Persia is sometimes mentioned by Parsi writers as the *Revāyet* of Jāmāsp Āsā. The author of the *Pārsi Prakāsh* informs us that the original Indian letter was indited in 1721 A. C. Unfortunately, the date of the Reply is not at all mentioned, nor is there any reference to the public or private Library in which a copy can be found. I must confess that I have never come across any, myself.¹¹⁵

There is then a letter dated Roz Bād (Govād) Māh Khurdād 1113 A. Y., 26 Shawwāl 1156 A. H., 28 Adar 665 Jalālī (13 December 1743 A. C.). The Indians addressed are the Dastur-i-Dastur-zādeh Mobed Kāus and the Dastur Dārāb son of Mobed Sohrāb of

114. N M R L, T. 32, pp. 71-76. The date of the Indian letter will be found at p. 71, l. 7. The name of the principal signatory is given as Dastur Bahrām Dastur Māhvindād Turkābādy only in the Persian Colophon at p. 75, ll. 8-9. The names of his grandfather and great-grandfather and the date of the Reply are given in another Colophon in Avesta-Pahlavi at p. 74.

"This copy which constitutes the Manuscript B [of the Dinkard] was afterwards approved by Bahram son of Mahvindād son of Rustam son of Anoshakrubān of Turkābād, who blesses the writer of the Second Colophon, on the day Tishtar of the month Vohuman in the year 1038 Yazdajardi (18th August 1669)" West, S. B. E. XXXVII, Introd. p. xxxvi.

115. *Pārsi Prakāsh*, I. 39. According to a *Tawarikh-i-Khūndān-i-Dastur Jāmāsp Āsā*, (Gujarāṭi), the letter was written two years earlier *i.e.* in 1719 A. C. (p. 9).

Surat. This is the reply of the priests of Yazd and Kermān to a series of twenty questions sent about four years before (1109 A. Y.) by the Qadmi leaders to their brethren in Iran, about the differences in ritual practice and the Roz Māh between themselves and the Shahanshāhis.¹¹⁶

Another epistle on the same burning question of the day was addressed from Kermān to Mobed Mānakji Navroji Rustamji Sett exhorting him to take the lead in guiding his Indian brethren aright in this matter. The communication is undated, but as Mānakji Sett died on Roz 12, Māh 7, 1117 A. Y. (19 April, 1748 A. C.) and as the Ādaran built by him in Bombay in 1102 A. Y. (1733 A. C.) as well as a Dakhma erected at his expense in the neighbourhood of Surat is expressly referred to, it is probable that it was written about 1747-8 A. C.¹¹⁸. It is even possible that he did not live to read it.

A third despatch on the same subject is dated Roz Gosh, Māh Khurdād 1138 A. Y., and Monday the 17th of Rajab 1182 A. H. (27th November 1768 A. C.)¹¹⁹. It is addressed to Dastur Dārāb b. Dastur Sohrāb, D. Kāus b. D. Faridun, D. Kāus son of Rustam Shahriār, and Behdin Sohrāb son of Kāus, B. Ratanshāh son of Minuchehershāh, B. Dhanjishāh son of Minuchehershāh, B. Kāus

116. Dastur Erachji's MS (N M R L, No. F. 60), pp. 90-124. For the names see p. 91 ll. 9-12, for the date of the Reply, p. 122, ll. 1-3. Dastur Kāus was Dastur Kāus Faridan Munajjam of Surat. *Pārsi Prakāsh* I. 57. Dastur Dārāb Sohrāb was the famous teacher of Anquetil. *Ibid.* I. 49.

117. Dastur Erachji's MS (N M R L, No. F. 60), pp. 125-131.

118. *Pārsi Prakāsh*. I. 36 and 30. The Dakhma was probably the one consecrated at Navsāri on Roz 11-4-1116 A. Y. (30th January, 1747). *Ibid.* I. 36.

119. Dastur Erachji's MS, pp. 55-78. The names are at p. 59, ll. 1-5, and the date at p. 77, ll. 5-7.

Dastur Kāus Rustam Shahriār was the third son of the well-known Dastur Rustamji Shahriārji of Udwarā. *Pārsi Prakāsh*, I. 60. Behdin Sohrāb Kāus was Sohrābji Kāvasji Neksā'atkhān, *Ibid.* 48. B. Dhanjishāh Minuchehershāh (or Manjishāh) was the English East India Company's broker at Surat, and a munificent and zealous patron of the Qadmis. *Ibid.* 69. Ratanjishāh his younger brother was a great Collector of books and Manuscripts and a Pahlavi and Persian scholar to boot. *Ibid.* 71. Kāus the son of Mānak was probably Kāvasji Mānakji Sāyer. The Sāyers are still Qadmis. *Ibid.* 76.

son of Mānak, B. Rustam son of Ratan, and Hakim Jiji son of Bahman.

Lastly, we possess the Replies of the Iranian Dasturs of Yazd and Kermān to a series of Seventy-eight questions sent by the Qadmi leaders of Surat. The messenger was Ervad Kāus Rustam Jalāl, the father of the famous Mullā Firūz. The date of the Replies which are available both in the original Persian and in a Gujarātī translation is Roz Khurdād Māh Abān, 1142 A. Y. (18th April, 1773 A. C.).¹²⁰

Before summing up the results of this inquiry, let me give a list of all those Revāyets or Letters which have passed in review before us¹²¹.

120. *Pārsi Prakāsh*, I. 50.

121. There is a list of the Persian Revāyets in West, Grundriss, I, 125-7. Besides the notices in the *Pārsi Prakāsh*, there is an account in the Cāmā Memorial Volume, from the pen of Mr. Bahmanji Bahrāmji Patel. Our Nos. 1 and 2 and perhaps No. 3 also are cited in Dārāb Hormazdyār's Compilation as the *Revāyet-i-Narimān Hāshang*. No. 4 is his *Revāyet* or *Maktub-i-Jāsā*. No. 5 is quoted by him as the *Maktub-i-Manekshah Changāshah*, and the reply is undoubtedly so called in IIF., the Manuscript written by his father. Folio 202b, left hand corner. (Some of the letters of the heading have been cut off by the binder). West's suggestion that the *Maktub-i-Manekshah* is "nearly a duplicate" of the *Revāyet-i-Jāsā* is thus negated by the parent Manuscript, which was demonstrably one of Dārāb's principal sources. No. 6 is generally quoted by Dārāb as the *Revāyet-i-Kāma Bohrā* and sometimes as the *Revāyet-i-Kāmā Āsā*. I have shown that they are really one and the same, and I am sure that West would have experienced no difficulty in "fixing their identity" if he had had access to the original Iranian autograph and HF. No. 8 is the Classifier's *Revāyet* or *Maktub-i-Kāmdin Shāpūr* and is expressly connected with the name of that person in the headings inserted in his father's manuscript; (folios 203b, 228b, 250b, left hand corners.). No. 9 is the *Revāyet-i-Kāus Kāmdin*, but extracts from it are also entered under the name of *Kāus Kāmān*. The fact is that they are identical, Kāmān being only another form of the name Kāmdin. No. 10 is the *Maktub-i-Faridūn Marzbān*. No. 12 figures as the *Maktub-i-Dastur Kāmdin Padam*, but it is also spoken of as the *Maktub-i-Ardeshtir Naushirvan*. Indeed, it is so called in HF, folio 460b. No. 13 goes under the name of the *Revāyet* or *Maktub-i-Kāus Māhyār*. All the citations from No. 14 are said to be derived from the *Revāyet-i-Bahman Punjia*, and the explanation, perhaps, is that Punjia was the familiar or abbreviated form of the name Aspandīār. No. 19 is referred to as the *Babat-i-Mody Nanabhai Punjia*, and No. 20 as the *Maktub* or *Tumar-i-Suratia Adhyaru*. Nos. 11, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 21-26 do not appear to have been known to Dārāb. On the other hand, he gives credit for several passages to a *Revāyet-i-Shāpūr Bhāruchi* which it has been hitherto impossible to trace or identify. A messenger of the name of Shāpūr is mentioned in the Letter of Aspandīār Sohrāb (No. 5) as having brought a Reply from Irān some time before. HF 197b, ll. 10-11, MK, 137b, ll. 11-12, D. H. Lith. II, 449, ll. 13-14. Whether or not he was identical with the Shāpūr Āsā who brought the Despatch of 896 A. Y. it is impossible to say, but there is no ground for supposing Shāpūr Āsā to have been a brother of Chāngā Āsā's. Chāngā Āsā does not appear, so far as is known, to have had a brother of the name of Shāpūr. See the *Bhāgarsālī Vanshavli*, p. 222 for the *Nāmagrahan* of the family.

Name of Messenger, or Person addressed.	Dates occurring in Manuscripts.	Resultant Dates in the Christian Era.
1 Narimān Hushang.	847 Yazdajardi or <i>Parsi</i> .	1478 A. C.
2 Naushirvān Khusru and Marzbān Isfandiār.	850 [or 855 (?)] Yazdajardi.	1480 A. C.
3 Behdin Farrukh- bakhsh Nauroz Fariburz and two other traders.	880 Yazdajardi = 916 <i>Hijri</i> .	1511 A. C.
4	885 Yazdajardi.	1516 A. C.
5 Aspandiār Sohrāb.	(No date).	<i>Circa</i> 1520 A. C.
6 Shāpur Āsā.	896 Yazdajardi.	1527 A. C.
7 Isfandiār Yazdiār and Rustam of Cambay.	904 Yazdajardi.	1535 A. C.
8 Kāmdin Shāpur Khanbāiti.	928 Yazdajardi = 966 <i>Hijri</i> .	1558 A. C.
9 Kāus Kāmdin.	922 (?)	<i>Circa</i> 1570 A. C.
10 Faridūn Marzbān.	(No date).	<i>Circa</i> 1580 A. C.
11 Letter to the Das- turs of Broach.	(No date).	<i>Circa</i> 1580 A. C.
12 Letter to Dastur Kāmdin Padam of Broach.	967 Yazdajardi.	1597 A. C.

I have shown that Nos. 4 and 6 in West's list are really not two distinct *Revāyets*, but one and the same Reply quoted under different names. So No. 7 is identical with No. 23, No. 9 with No. 10, and No. 3 with No. 12. The quotations in the latter (the *Maktūb-i-Shapur Bharuchi*) resemble, as he has pointed out, the extracts from the *Revāyets* of Shāpur Āsā [i.e. Kāmā Bohrā or Kāmā Āsā] and Kāmdin Shāpur, and it is not impossible that this so-called *Revāyet-i-Shapur Bharuchi* owes its name to some confusion in the mind of Dārāb or in his sources. Similarly, there can be little doubt that his No. 20 is only No. 16 under another name. Nos. 17 and 19 and 24 are not really Answers received from Persia, but Compilations made in India by our own Dasturs of such of the Iranian Replies as they could obtain or thought important. It will be thus seen that there are in West's list only *eighteen* *Revāyets* which are really distinct or original.

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|---------------------------|
| 13 | Kāus Māhyār. | 970 Yazdajardi (?) | <i>Circa</i> 1600 A. C. |
| 14 | Bahman Aspan-
diār. | 996 Yazdajardi, 1035-6
<i>Hijri.</i> | 1626-7 A. C. |
| 15 | Letter to Dastur
Kāmdin Padam
and Behdin Āsā
Jamshed. | 1005 Yazdajardi, 1045
<i>Hijri.</i> | 1635 A. C. |
| 16 | Letter of Ispandiār
Rustam to the
Behdins of Surat,
Broach and Nav-
sāri. | 1005 Yazdajardi, 1045
<i>Hijri.</i> | 1635 A. C. |
| 17 | Letter to Dastur
Barzo Kāmdin
brought by Shah-
riār Rustam
Sandal (or Jan-
del). | 1019 Yazdajardi. | 1649 A. C. |
| 18 | Another Letter to
Dastur Barzo
Kāmdin. | (No date); (seven or
eight years after
1015 Yazdajardi). | <i>Circa</i> 1653-4 A. C. |
| 19 | Letter to Dastur
Rustam Pesho-
tan and others on
the subject of the
New Dakhma. | (No date). | <i>Circa</i> 1668 A. C. |
| 20 | Letter to the
Adhyārus of
Surat. | 1039 <i>Fārsi</i> , 1081 <i>Hijri.</i> | 1670 A. C. |
| 21 | Letter to Dasturs
of Broach, Nav-
sāri and Cambay. | 1050 Yazdajardi. | 1681 A. C. |

22 Letter to Dastur Jāmāsp Āsā of Navsāri.	(?)	1721 A. C. (?)
23 Letter to Mobed Kāus and Dastur Dārāb Sohrāb.	1113 Yazdajardi, 1156 <i>Hijri.</i>	1743 A. C.
24 Letter to Manakji Nowroji Rustam- ji Sett.	(No date).	Circa 1748 A. C.
25 Letter to Dastur Dārāb Sohrāb and others of Surat.	1138 Yazdajardi, 1182 <i>Hijri.</i>	1768 A. C.
26 <i>Ithoter</i> Revāyet. (78 Questions).	1142 Yazdajardi, 1186 <i>Hijri.</i>	1773 A. C.

A glance at the above list will show that among these twenty-six missives, six do not contain any date and consequently do not enter into the question at all. In other words, they have no bearing on the point at issue and may be put out of court at once. They are Nos. 5, 10, 11, 18, 19, and 24.

Of three others Nos. 9, 13 and 22 the dates are uncertain or unverified. Of these Nos. 13 and 22 are of scarcely any importance, and there can be little doubt that if their alleged dates are hereafter substantiated, they will be found to belong to the *Common Yazdajardi Era*.

These nine epistles eliminated, the question we have to answer is whether the dates found in the remaining seventeen are counted from the Ordinary Yazdajardi Era (A. Y.) or the Pārsi (A 20 Y).

This question is easily answered so far as *nine* out the seventeen Revāyets are concerned. These nine are, as will be at once evident on a reference to the table, dated in the *Yazdajardi as well as the Hijri Era*. They are Nos. 3, 8, 14, 15, 16, 20, 23, 25, 26, and it would be almost an insult to the intelligence of the reader to make any formal attempt to prove that the equations are true only of the *Common Yazdajardi Era*. We may take it then, that the Iranian writers of these nine despatches were reckoning from the *Ordinary Yazdajardi Era*, although in one case (No. 20) the word used is *Fārsi* (or *Parsi*) and not Yazdajardi. It may be also noticed that the equation 880 A. Y. = 916 A. H. (No. 3) clearly demonstrates that the *Ordinary Yazdajardi Era* was current in Persia so early at least as 1511 A. C.

It follows that there are only eight Revāyets about which the question of *Ordinary or Parsi* can arise. These are Nos. 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 12, 17 and 21. I may be permitted here to repeat that with respect to two, if not three of them, (Nos. 1, 12 and 2) the evidence in our possession is *absolutely conclusive*. We are expressly told in No. 3 that the messenger of No. 1 which is dated in 847 Yazdajardi or *Pārsi*, had visited Persia *thirty-five years before* the year 880 A. Y. or 916 A. H. in which No. 3 itself was written. This means, if words have any meaning, that Narimān Hushang's visit must have taken place about the 845th year of the *Common Yazdajardi Era*, (880 A. Y. = 916 A. H. = 1511 A. C.) — 35 = 845 A. Y. = 1476 A. C. The case of No. 12 is equally easy to decide. The date is 967 A. Y., and we know from the evidence of a reliable Musalmān contemporary—the author of the *Farhang-i-Jahāngiri*—that the writer, Dastur Ardeshir Naushirvān Kermāni had come to India at the express invitation of the Emperor Akbar, who himself died in 1605 A. C.

Now, the 967th year of the *Common Yazdajardi Era* was equivalent to the 1597th year of the Era of Christ. The 967th year of the *Parsi Era*, 1617 A. C. would take us into the middle of the reign of the Emperor Jahāngir, and must be pronounced absolutely inadmissible.

Let us now consider No. 2. It is *very probably* the reply referred to in No. 3, as having been sent with Naushirvān Khusru and Marzbān Ispandīār, *twenty-nine* years before the year 880 A. Y. = 916 A. H., (1511 A. C.), in which No. 3 itself was written. It follows that the real date must be somewhere about 1481 A. C. and correspond to the 850th year of the *Common Yazdajardi Era*. In a word, it seems to me that when the first three Revāyets are viewed in the proper light *as members of a series*, there can be no reasonable doubt that the years given in their colophons are to be counted from the *Common Yazdajardi Era*.

So far, the argument is exceedingly simple and we are on perfectly safe ground. It is not pretended that the cases of Nos. 4, 6, and 7 are on exactly the same footing. The evidence in reference to them is, I admit, not so easy to follow. It is derived from much more recondite sources, and is also much more complicated. But I venture to think that it is, when everything is considered, not the less satisfactory. It is not necessary to recapitulate that evidence, but I may be permitted to point out that those three Letters also are members of a series coming between the Revāyet of 1511 A. C. (No. 3) and the Reply of 1558 A. C. (No. 8). In other words, Nos. 4, 6 and 7, together with the undated reply brought by Aspandīār Sohrāb (No. 5) belong to the intervening period of 47 years, and have to be consistently arranged *within those limits*. It seems to me that any one who attempts to do so will find it exceedingly difficult, if not *impossible*, to assign the years 885, 896 and 904 to any other than the *Common Yazdajardi Era*, if he will only give their due weight to the Indian and Iranian names and the other considerations I have adduced.

The Revāyets which have yet to be considered are the letters of 1019 A. Y. and 1050 A. Y. They belong to the middle and last quarter of the Seventeenth Century, when the use of the Ordinary Era was becoming more and more common in Iran. The first of them was addressed to Dastur Barzo Kāmdin Kaiqubād who was certainly alive in 1649 A. C., and whose name occurs in the *Maktūb-i-Suratiā Adhyāru* which is expressly dated 1039 A. Y. 1081 Hijri (1670 A. C.). The second is of no great importance and was written at a period when the *Parsi* Era had become all but obsolete in Persia itself, and the fact that the name of the writer of the fourth colophon of the Dinkard which is dated in the 1038th year of the *Ordinary* Yazdajardi Era occurs in it points clearly to the 1050th year also belonging to the same Era.

The sum and substance of the whole matter may be put in a few words. Out of a total of twenty-six despatches from Persia the dates of *seventeen* only can be discovered and verified. In *nine* of these the corresponding Hijri years are *expressly* given and there cannot be a shadow of doubt that they are dated in the *Common* Yazdajardi Era. The argument in favour of the dates found in *three* others being assigned to the same era is as simple as it is conclusive, and the evidence in our possession entitles us to predicate the same thing about the other *five* with *reasonable*, if not absolute certainty. Looked at in another way, it seems clear that so far as the Revāyets written in *Persian* from the 15th to the 18th Century are concerned, there is not one which contains *any positive evidence* of the Iranians having been in the *habit* of calculating from the *twentieth* year of Yazdajard.

This does not mean that there is no instance at all of the conscious and intelligent use of the A. 20 Y. or Parsi Era in *any* of the *Pahlavi* MSS written during that period. It is not denied that the Parsi Era was employed at one time in that country,

but it is also true that "the accustomed formula for the twentieth year" was often inserted by Iranian scribes of the 16th and 17th Centuries, although "the years were not counted from the Twentieth year." The thing that now remains to be done is to examine the evidence—external and internal—in each case and draw a dividing line between those *Pahlavi* Manuscripts in which the formula is used with a full understanding of its meaning, and those in which it is employed mechanically or as a mere matter of form. The present writer trusts that some competent Pahlavi scholar will undertake that part of the inquiry, and begs permission to invite attention to the numerous points of contact between these Revāyets and the colophons of Iranian MSS in Pahlavi, which he has indicated for the first time in these pages.

